

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN * BRILL

Jews, Muslims and Christians In and Around the Crown of Aragon

Essays in Honour of
Professor Elena Lourie

Edited by
Harvey J. Hames



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JEW, MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN IN AND AROUND
THE CROWN OF ARAGON

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400-1500

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JEWS, MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN AND AROUND THE CROWN OF ARAGON

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HARVEY J. HAMES



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for Elena

הרוצה שיחכים ידרים

One who desires wisdom
should go south

(b. Talmud, Bava Batra, f. 25b)

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó
AEM	<i>Anuario de estudios medievales</i> (Barcelona)
AHPC, PN	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba, Protocolos Notariales
AMC	Archivo Municipal de Córdoba
AHPZ	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Zaragoza
CDIACA	<i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos de la Corona de Aragón</i> (Barcelona 1847–)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

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CRUSADE, COLONISATION AND DANCING RABBIS: IN AND AROUND THE WORK OF E. LOURIE

Harvey J. Hames

On entering a bookshop almost anywhere in the Iberian peninsula, but particularly in the areas that constituted the medieval Crown of Aragon and its environs, one is continually surprised by the amount of material on the shelves dealing with the local history. Historians delve into the archives in order to write very detailed studies of the immediate locale from a variety of perspectives. This phenomena, no doubt connected to the broader geo-political context and changes particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, has uncovered material that helps elucidate documents found in the central archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona. And while the local historians tend to focus on their own immediate environment, often over-emphasising the significance of their findings for the greater picture, it is left to others to examine these local histories in the broader context of the Crown of Aragon both in the study of the parts which makes up the whole, and in its relations with the world outside.

Elena Lourie is one of those “others” whose various studies take into account the local, the larger parts, the whole medieval Crown of Aragon and the interaction between the Crown and its neighbours both within the Iberian peninsula and further afield.¹ Combining exacting archival work and an eye for detail, with broad learning and analytical prowess, Elena Lourie’s works reconstruct many of the aspects of daily life in the multicultural society of the Crown, the relations between the different segments of the population both vertically and horizontally, the complexities of charters and law codes both in their compilation and application, and the mentality of rulers

¹ Some of Elena Lourie’s studies along with the works of “others” (in this case anglophone historians, some of them contributors to this volume) involved in mudéjar studies are discussed in A. Galán Sánchez, *Una visión de la “decadencia española”: la historiografía anglosajona sobre mudéjares y moriscos (siglos XVIII–XX)*, (Málaga 1991) especially pp. 151–55.

in their dealings with their subjects. Minorities, or the medieval “others”, are also a major focus in her articles, as different types of interaction between Christians, Muslims and Jews come under the microscope, and gender issues are teased out of the sources. And from broader issues to case studies: the archival material reveals what happens when a corpse is discovered in the Jewish quarter,² the presence of a Jewish mercenary in the employ of King Alfonso III,³ Jewish mafiosi and criminals in partnership with Christians,⁴ a dancing Rabbi at a Christian vigil and Jewish *filocapti*,⁵ Jewish bullfighters,⁶ and the consequences of the report of a unit of female archers fighting in the Muslim army at Valencia.⁷

Many of Elena Lourie’s seminal studies were collected together and published as *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*.⁸ In this volume, many of the essays deal with the convoluted relations between the different faiths examined from the perspective of the Christian majority trying to implement its rule over large minorities, as well as from the point of view of the minorities in their relations with each other and the dominant faith. In an area with continually changing and expanding frontiers, these studies show how the different faiths and cultures adjusted to mutable circumstances, how religious prohibitions were often ignored or extended, and how the boundaries between the faiths were either utilised or

² ‘A plot which failed? The case of the corpse found in the Jewish *Call* of Barcelona (1301)’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1:2, (1986) pp. 187–220.

³ ‘A Jewish mercenary in the service of the king of Aragon’, *Revue des Études Juives* 137, (1978) pp. 367–373.

⁴ ‘Complicidad criminal: un aspecto insólito de convivencia Judeo-Cristiana’, in C. Carrete Parrondo (ed.), *Actas del III Congreso ‘Encuentro de las Tres Culturas’*, (Toledo, 1984) pp. 93–108 and ‘Mafiosi and Malsines: Violence, Fear and Faction in the Jewish *aljamas* of Valencia in the fourteenth century’, in C. Carrete Parrondo (ed.), *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional ‘Encuentro de las Tres Culturas’*, (Toledo 1988) pp. 69–102.

⁵ ‘Cultic Dancing and Courtly Love: Jews and Popular Culture in Fourteenth-Century Aragon and Valencia’, in S. Menashe, M. Gooditch and S. Schein (eds), *Cross-Cultural Convergence in the Crusader Period: Essays in Honour of Grabois on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, (New York 1995) pp. 151–182.

⁶ ‘A fifteenth-century satire on Jewish bullfighters’, *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem 1981) pp. 129–139.

⁷ ‘Black Women Warriors in the Muslim Army Besieging Valencia and the Cid’s victory: A problem of Interpretation’, *Traditio* 55, (2000) pp. 181–209 and a shorter Hebrew version in *Zmanim* 62, (1998) pp. 60–71.

⁸ E. Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*, (Aldershot 1990).

discarded according to the fluctuations of time and space. Geopolitics, war and peace, crusade, colonisation, demography, ideology, economic pressures, jurisprudence, borders and boundaries, conflict and co-operation, provide the backdrop for her integrative approach as the basis for examining and understanding the complexities of the Iberian peninsula, and particularly the Crown of Aragon, in the Middle Ages.

Central to the aforementioned volume is an original study dealing with Christian attitudes towards the *mudejars* which, since its publication, has been highly praised as central for all future study of *Mudejar* communities in the Crown of Aragon, and indeed can be viewed as germane for a number of the authors in this volume.⁹ Coining the term ‘ambivalence’ to describe the general attitude of the Christians towards the *Mudejar* communities, Elena Lourie shows that it is not useful to define this interaction only from the point of view of functionality or utility of the Muslim minority for the Christian majority. Within both cultural communities there are sub-groups and categories where attitudes are determined according to specific circumstances, activities, social status and economic variables. Indeed, each community viewed itself in complex ways which were partly linked with its relationship to the other. The Jews appear in the study as a way of demonstrating the complexity of the nature of Christian attitudes towards the *mudejars*. While increased persecution and fiscal pressure are the *mudejar*’s lot towards the end of the thirteenth century and the fourteenth, unlike the steadily worsening situation of the Jews, the former’s status remained dependant on fluctuating notions of Christian ambivalence.

Also prominent in the aforementioned collection of articles is Elena Lourie’s side in an interesting debate on how to interpret the will of Alfonso I of Aragon, “el Batallador”, who bequeathed his kingdoms

⁹ Variorum generally only collect and publish material that has already appeared in other publications. However, in this case, they were very willing to publish this study which could have been a small book in its own right. Father Burns commented that it “slipped into libraries almost unnoticed” because of where it was published, and he continues: ‘Those of us who have discovered and used the work fondly hope that translation one day as a book in its own right in Spain may give it more visibility and influence’. See R.I. Burns, ‘*Mudejar* Parallel Societies: Anglophone Historiography and Spanish Context, 1975–2000’, in M.D. Meyerson and E.D. English (eds), *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, (Notre Dame 2000) p. 100.

to the military orders. Her article published in *Speculum* in 1975, reopened a issue on which there had been fairly universal consensus; that Alfonso I had been very sincere when he made the will and had intended it to be carried out, but since it disregarded laws of family inheritance and succession to the throne, it was ignored. Lourie claimed that if previous analysis of the will had focused on the king's psychological state, it was far less arbitrary and speculative to try and offer a political explanation which accorded with the way Alfonso had reigned during his thirty odd years on the throne. In her opinion, the will was a shrewd attempt to buy time to allow Ramiro, Alfonso's brother to marry and produce a heir, which in the event worked, as neither the papacy or Alfonso VII, king of Leon-Castile who had designs on the kingdom succeeded in furthering their claims.¹⁰

This reading of the events surrounding the writing and ratification of the will was criticised a few years later by Alan Forey, who propounded a counter-thesis which negated Lourie's arguments.¹¹ He suggested that Alfonso I's will shows no inconsistency because he had already demonstrated a lack of political acumen earlier in his career, and in addition, one should not expect a man close to death (the will was ratified a week before Alfonso died) to act in a manner consistent with earlier behaviour. Alfonso intended that his will be upheld in order to help further Christian advances in the Holy Land. In a very detailed rejoinder, Elena Lourie showed how Forey's thesis was even less plausible than traditional explanations of the will, and again demonstrated how her own thesis, though also hypothetical, makes more sense of the available evidence.

A remarkable example of the painstaking detective work needed to fit pieces of evidence together is Elena Lourie's examination of the trial of the Order of Montesa which reflects her ongoing interest in the military orders in Spain.¹² In a much earlier study, the *ribat*, an Islamic religious and military institution set up to protect

¹⁰ Originally published as E. Lourie, 'The Will of Alfonso I, "El Batallador", King of Aragon and Navarre: A Reassessment', *Speculum* 50, (1975) pp. 635–651.

¹¹ A.J. Forey, 'The Will of Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre', *Durham University Journal* 73:1, (1980) pp. 59–65.

¹² 'Conspiracy and Cover-up: The Order of Montesa on Trial (1352)' in P.E. Chevedden et al. (eds), *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages. Essays in honor of Robert I. Burns S.J.*, (Brill 1996), vol. 2, pp. 253–317.

the frontiers, was suggested as a possible source for the Belchite confraternity founded in 1122 and which disappeared ca. 1136. It did not survive because the Islamic model of the *ribat* did not fit the legal and religious constraints of the Christian world, particularly the notion of a temporary vocation, and the Belchite confraternity was acculturated into the emerging models of the Christian military orders.¹³ In dealing with Peter IV's attempt to abolish the Order of Montesa, Lourie uncovered a tale of intrigue and disinformation which shows the king as devious, trying to increase his income and renege on debts by transferring the lands and property of the Order into his hands. This was not righteous indignance at the relaxation of the monastic rule, or perhaps the fear that the Order was no longer able to defend the Valencian frontier from Muslim invasion (an almost non-existent threat in the mid-fourteenth century), but a strategy designed to blackmail the Master of the Order and make him compliant. However, the Master proved to be resilient and politically competent, and in the aftermath, the King was forced to abandon his plans for the Order.

These few examples are indicative of the refreshing and illuminating approach to the primary and secondary sources adopted by Elena Lourie, and her bringing together of local conditions and motivations along with broader historical contexts and concerns. In the main, this is also the approach taken by the authors of the studies in this volume. Almost all the papers in this collection refer in one way or another to Elena Lourie's articles, or deal with topics close to her heart. One of the main guidelines to the authors was that the studies focus on the Crown of Aragon and its environs from different perspectives and cover the medieval period, while also building on and expanding arguments made in her many studies. The reader may be the judge of whether this has been achieved; some of the articles have used her writing extensively, and others re-evaluate, compliment and look anew at topics she has illuminated. In addition, as her works have done, this collection bridges between different cultures living and interacting with each other, and examines a dynamic society with expanding borders and fluctuating boundaries.

¹³ 'The confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat and the Temple', *Viator*, 13 (1982) pp. 159–176.

The first section focuses on legal, economic and political issues, and by extension, also on the use of force. The raising of money for military campaigns, the political adroitness needed, the cost of keeping a army in the field and the legal status of the Jews, often a major source for both royal administrators and financial gain are the focus of these studies. In the opening article, Jocelyn Hillgarth looks at the fiscal system of the Crown of Aragon. Close examination of the extensive archival material available offers the possibility to follow the major changes in administration and the paying of taxes that occurred during the thirteenth century. The development of the post of *Maestre Racional* and the increased importance of the Treasurer at the end of the century was a necessary response to the need for greater financial efficiency in the face of external adversity. However, as, Hillgarth shows, the kings ability to generate income decreased steadily during the fourteenth century as the power of the *Corts* grew, due to concessions made by the rulers in order to raise funds for military campaigns.

Father Burns also draws on archival material, chronicles and other sources to put together a detailed picture of the actual provisioning of a crusader army in the field. He looks at James the Conquerors' campaign to Murcia from 1264–1267, and describes the military successes in relation to the cost and victuals needed to keep the army in the field. These include anything from the outfitting of ships and galleys, basic staples for man and beast, wages, to the construction of fortifications and weapons. This massive outlay required the loaning of large sums which in turn had to be repaid by regular and special taxation from minorities and clerical incomes (it was after all a crusade), the granting of privileges, and other additional measures which could include foraging and hunting.

John Edwards article starts from a premise put forward by Elena Lourie in 1966 about the nature of Spanish society as one organised for war.¹⁴ Her study looked at, what she considered the backbone of medieval Spanish society, the militarised non-noble freeholders, or 'commoner-knights', of Castile and León, and their upward mobility due to their functions in the vast frontier areas. Edwards takes Cordoba as his case study, and looks at the various kinds of nobility

¹⁴ 'A Society Organised for War: Medieval Spain', *Past and Present* 35, (1966) pp. 54–76.

and the changes in status due to lineage and economic considerations. He shows that while the ideology of nobility as something achieved by merit might still be around in fifteenth and sixteenth century Spain, in reality, the status of nobility was acquired in a variety of different ways. The conflicts between the lower and higher nobility indicates the dominance of a social over an economic, an inbred over a meritocratic, definition of nobility.

David Abulafia looks at the origin of the idea of the servitude of the Jews to the king as it appears in the *fueros* of Teruel (1176–7), and which predates its supposedly earliest formulation by Frederick II by some sixty years. By looking at the meaning of the traditional formulation *servus camere nostre* first used by the latter and tracing the previous history of the separate elements of this definition, the implications are that within it one can find a convergence of both legal and theological concepts regarding the status of the Jew. However, the different formulation in the *fueros* of Teruel, when seen in the particular context of the frontier suggests that, during the twelfth century, the Jew combined the functions of citizen with ‘servitude’, or dependency on the royal fisc.

Following on from the previous article, the second part of the book focuses on the interaction between the Jewish and Muslim minorities, and between each of the minorities and the Christian majority. Love relations between Jews and Muslims, or at least what the sources reveal about them, are the subject of David Nirenberg’s contribution. In the aftermath of the Christian reconquest, relations between Jews and Muslims, very often mediated by a silent (and sometimes not so silent) Christian partner, depended on financial, political and social status. Nirenberg examines the legal status, nature, and various types of sexual relations over a period of some two centuries, illuminating the significant differences which were a function of changing theological concerns in the role the two minority communities held in the Christian world before and after 1400. The presence of growing number of conversos was both gratifying and worrying, either as a harbinger of the apocalypse or as undermining the Christian faith from within, and in the case of love relations, this was a cause for a significant shift in balance in favour of the Muslims.

Interfaith scholarly interaction is the focus of Thomas Glick’s study. He suggests that judging the nature of relations between medieval scholars of the different faiths on the basis of polemic and disputation is misleading because it suggests that religious ideology is always

the context for interaction. Utilising theory of social interaction, Glick suggests that most interaction which occurred on a regular basis was ideologically neutral, in other words, religious ideology was suspended in order to create an atmosphere where scholarly interaction could take place for the benefit of all involved. This allowed all types of relations between members of the three faiths where the scholar belonging to the minority faith could be the *magister*, where Jew, Christian and Muslim could work together on translations, or study philosophical texts together.

Ana Echevarria deals with the phenomenon of members of the Mudejar minority trying to succeed in the world of the Christian majority. Hers is a tale of fluid boundaries, and how the people who crossed them had to construct an identity, which, sometimes, was able to bridge between two cultures and religions. While it has been suggested that conversion was not so much a matter of changing faith as bringing about a change in social circumstances, here it is shown that this was not necessarily the case. Two fifteenth-century Castilian families provide interesting examples of acculturation and assimilation. The Belvís who enjoyed a privileged position in the Castilian aljamas, just as the Aragonese branch of the family did in Aragon, yet remained Muslim, in contrast with the Al-Barramonis, who were established either in Granada or in Valencia, and who found their way to the Castilian court, where they converted to Christianity.

Charles Lohr shows how ideas and concepts move between religions and cultures and are adapted and used by the borrower. In this particular case he shows how the famous thirteenth-century Catalan missionary, philosopher and mystic, Ramon Lull, borrows central concepts for his Art from his western Muslim predecessors and contemporaries. Lohr demonstrates how Lull's *dignitates* or principles are not only found in the list of the Islamic names of God, but how their meaning and function in the Art are comparable to how they are understood and explained in the teachings of figures such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Eleazar Gutwirth examines musical tendencies among the Jews of fifteenth-century Spain, and shows how the Hebrew texts, when read in the broader Christian context, exhibit evidence of contacts, appropriations and relations between sacred and profane music and between Christian, Muslim, and Jewish musical practices. This evidence is

also substantiated by inquisitorial records which show that after the events of 1391, far from being isolationist, the Jewish community, at least in the case of music, was open to current practices among their Christian neighbours and interacted with them on joyous and formal occasions where music and dance were called for.

In the final study in this section, Ram ben Shalom focuses on an aspect of Jewish acculturation to their Christian surroundings seen in their use of mythical stories in a manner similar to the way they were used by their Christian contemporaries. The myths of the conquest of Troy and the labours of Hercules were used by fifteenth century figures such as Abravanel and Abraham Zacut to substantiate Jewish claims of genealogy (being descendants of King David) and the antiquity of the Spanish diaspora. Similarly, their Christian contemporaries also used these stories as foundation myths in order to show their superiority over the other kingdoms of Christendom. The Jewish use of these myths was in part to define the relationship between minority and majority in Spain, and also as a response to negative propaganda being levelled against the Jews.

The final section of the book focuses on specific minority figures and their interaction with both the Christian majority and their co-religionists. Brian Catlos gathers the available evidence for the career of a Muslim mercenary, Mahomet Abenadalill, in the service of the Crown of Aragon, and shows that the supposed ecumenical divide and religious ideology of *reconquista* is more a matter of terminology by which policies are articulated and justified, than representative of any actuality. Mercenaries of the stature of Mahomet Abenadalill worked both sides of the religious divide and were often part of the court and sometimes even became vassals of their Christian employers. They were protected by the monarchy and received privileges dealing with spoils of war, slaves, wages and armaments, and their motivation was for personal gain. The existing evidence, as already shown by Elena Lourie in the case of a Jewish mercenary,¹⁵ supports the supposition that these mercenaries were not the exception that proves the rule, but were part and parcel of the cross-cultural and inter-religious contacts that were a basic staple of life in the Iberian peninsula.

¹⁵ See the article cited in n. 3 above.

Mark Meyerson examines the issue of *malshinut*—informing to the Christian authorities, looking again at a study by Elena Lourie published in 1988, where she examined records of an investigation that the bailiff general of the kingdom of Valencia conducted in January 1327 into the alleged criminal activities of some Jews of Morvedre.¹⁶ Due to the discovery of more archival material dealing with the community in Morvedre, he concludes that the whole affair had more to do with a power struggle within the *aljama*, mainly over taxation policies and the governance of the oligarchy. Though, perhaps, not directly connected with those involved in the “wax affair”, this example indicates the extent of Jewish-Christian co-operation, the attempt of the lower classes to break the monopoly of the oligarchies and have more say in the running of the *aljama*, and shows the potential of *malshinut* for furthering one’s aims.

The career of Shlomo Anagni, a Jewish *perpenturo* (a type of medieval interior designer), is the focus of Asunción Blasco’s paper. A very highly regarded craftsman at the royal court of the Crown of Aragon in the second half of the fourteenth-century, he was rewarded with the position of deputy *merino* in Saragossa in charge of the Jewish community. A difficult position to fill given the need to collaborate with Christian officials. Not being considered part of the Jewish elite, and notwithstanding his royal protectors, Shlomo Anagni found it very difficult to maintain his status and fulfil his role, and was the target of intrigue within and beyond the boundaries of the Jewish quarter.

What better way to conclude this volume in honour of a historian who spends much of her time with source material in the archives, than with an unpublished archival text. Carlos Carrete Parrondo’s brief but informative study presents documentary evidence of an inquisitorial process against a barber Juan del Escuela, an inhabitant of Cuenca, in 1492 accused of Judaizing. He considers these inquisitorial documents important in showing the lack of cohesiveness and coherence of the *converso* community as a social group, and their lack of knowledge of central tenets of Judaism.

¹⁶ “Mafiosi and Malsines: Violence, Fear and Faction in the Jewish *Aljamas* of Valencia in the Fourteenth Century”, *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional ‘Encuentro de las tres culturas’ (Toledo 30 septiembre–2 octubre 1985)*, (ed.) C. Carrete Parrondo, (Toledo 1988) pp. 69–102.

PART TWO

POLITICS, WAR AND LAW

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THE ROYAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CROWN OF ARAGON

Jocelyn N. Hillgarth

When I began research on this subject, my aim was to try to get behind the generalisations then current regarding the “Mediterranean Empire” attributed by many historians—since at least the sixteenth century—to the Crown of Aragon.¹ I wanted to find out the answers to such apparently simple questions as these; What financial resources did the kings of Aragon possess? What was their annual revenue and expenditure? Where did the money they raised come from? What was it principally spent on? What were the financial constraints on royal action? The answers to these questions proved more elusive than I had anticipated.

The Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó in Barcelona contains very substantial financial records not only for Catalonia but for the whole Crown of Aragon. They are to be found in a sub-section of the Arxiu (until 1936 a separate entity) the Arxiu del Reial Patrimoni. These records have been particularly studied in recent years by Professor Manuel Sánchez Martínez and his collaborators.² Let me begin by a brief explanation of what the sources in question consist of.

¹ J.N. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire 1229–1327*, (English Historical Review, Supplement 8, London 1975). See also n. 3, below.

² Sánchez Martínez, *El naixement de la fiscalitat d’Estat a Catalunya (segles XII–XIV)*, (Girona 1995) is a synthesis of his earlier research. Sánchez Martínez and Antoni Furió (eds), *Col·loqui Corona, Municipis i Fiscalitat a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, (Lleida, [1997]) is very important for the general development of taxation in the later Middle Ages; see Sánchez Martínez, “Fiscalidad pontificia y finanzas reales en Cataluña a mediados del siglo XIV: las décimas de 1349, 1351 y 1354”, *Estudis castellonens* 6, (1994–95) pp. 1277–1296; “La evolución de la fiscalidad regia en los países de la Corona de Aragón (c. 1280–1356), in *Europa en los umbrales de la crisis (1250–1350)*, (1995), pp. 393–428; “Fiscalidad y finanzas municipales en las ciudades y villas reales de Cataluña”, in *Finanzas y fiscalidad municipal*, (León 1996?), pp. 209–38; “Contributi finanziari di città e ville della Catalogna alla conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica (1321–1326)”, *Medioevo, Saggi e Rassegne* 20, (1996) pp. 317–52; “Corts, Parlaments y fiscalidad en Cataluña: las ‘Profertes’ para las guerras mediterráneas (1350–1356)”, *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, (Jaca 1993) pp. 253–72; and (with Pere Orti Gost and Max Turull Rubinat), “La Génesis de la fiscalidad municipal en Cataluña”, *Revista d’Història Medieval* 7, (1996) pp. 115–34.

The most numerous series consists of the registers of the Royal Treasurer; the first surviving volume dates from 1297. Each of these registers normally contains the accounts of a six-month period (sometimes of less). With considerable gaps they continue until the suppression of the separate institutions of the Crown of Aragon in 1713 by the Bourbons, at the end of the War of Spanish Succession. I have examined some hundred of these registers, from 1306 to 1386.

This period covers the greater part of the reign of Jaime II and the whole of the reigns of Alfonso IV and Pedro IV of Aragon (I employ the Aragonese names and regnal numbers). If the series was complete for these eighty years we would have at least 160 registers; in fact about 120 survive. Because of a fire in the nineteenth century—and the way it was put out, by dousing the paper registers with water—a few of the surviving registers were in such bad state that I was not allowed to handle them.³ Others, which I did see, were almost illegible because of humidity. Fortunately it is usually possible to check the summaries (not the details) of Receipts and Expenses for each accounting period from another series of registers, kept by the Treasurer's official superior, the *Maestre Racional*. (I comment later on the relations between these two officials.) The *Maestre Racional* series begins in 1293. I examined about thirty of these registers, going down, with some gaps, to 1386. These volumes are also often in poor condition.⁴ Other series can be consulted (they are not used here). The queens of Aragon and the royal princes had their own treasurers, who kept separate accounts. There are also the records of the royal bailiffs, who collected Crown revenues from the royal demesne in Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, and of their superiors, the *Bailes Generales*, in each realm; these records are invaluable for the study of variations in Crown property. There are separate records of the ecclesiastical tithes granted to the Crown, and of those

³ I was able to consult most of the following registers: ACA, RP (*Reial Patrimoni*), 269 (December 1306–March 1307) to RP 384 (August–December 1386). The earlier registers for 1297–1303 (RP 262–268) were in such a poor state that I was not able to consult them. Other volumes (e.g. RP 313, 326 and 340bis) were also not usable. RP 339 was lost. There are also gaps in the surviving records, e.g. between RP 281 and 282, 283 and 284, 290 and 291, 296 and 297.

⁴ I saw part of RP, MR (*Maestre Racional*) 620 and 622 to 652; 629 is a small fragment, with no reference to the Treasurer. For 620 see T. de Montagut i Estragués, *El Maestre Racional a la Corona d'Aragó (1283–1419)*, (Barcelona 1987) 1, pp. 119–22.

kept by the important *escrivà de ració* (scriptor rationis), who paid the court officials. Separate registers from 1292 to 1344 record *Subsidia*; these were special levies from places directly subject to the Crown—excluding the far larger number of places under ecclesiastical or baronial jurisdiction. Jews and Muslims (Mudejars) were taxed separately and large sums were demanded from the separate parliaments (Corts or Cortes) of the different realms. Some of the sums raised in these various ways—but by no means all—were registered in the books of the Treasurer.

This vast mass of financial records has no medieval parallel in Spain, except for the smaller and less important kingdom of Navarre. The financial records of the kings of Castile before about 1450 have disappeared almost completely, as have the records of their Chancery.⁵ To find a parallel to the records in Barcelona one has to go to the English Public Record Office or the Archives Nationales in Paris.⁶ The Barcelona records have still to be systematically explored. In 1911 the books of the Treasurer for 1302–04 were published by González Hurtebise; this large volume has had no successor.⁷ The small series of registers dealing with Sardinia has been examined by Sardinian scholars.⁸ The late Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, in various works, commented on royal finances.⁹ Professor Tomás de Montagut i Estragués's fundamental study of the office of Maestre Racional will be often cited below. Other scholars have hunted for items of

⁵ For Navarre see J. Zabalo Zabalegui, in *Actas de las I Jornades de metodologia aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas*, 5, (Santiago 1975) pp. 267–81, and his *La Administración del reino de Navarra en el siglo XIV*, (Pamplona 1973) pp. 140–47, which deals with the same material. Some Castilian records for Sancho IV's reign (1284–95) are preserved in the cathedral archive of Toledo; see M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Sancho IV de Castilla*, (Madrid 1922–28) 1, Apéndice documental, i–cxlviii; 3: ccxxxix–xli, etc. See also Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, p. 177 n. 33; M.-A. Ladero Quesada, *La Hacienda Real de Castilla en el Siglo XV*, (La Laguna 1973).

⁶ See T.N. Bisson (ed.), *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)*, 1, (Berkeley 1984) p. 151: “next to England Catalonia is incomparably the richest . . . [realm] in respect to the survival of early fiscal records”, also T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*, (Oxford 1986) p. 98.

⁷ E. González Hurtebise, *Libros de Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón, I: Reinado de Jaime II, 1302–04*, (Barcelona 1911).

⁸ Notably C. Manca, *Fonti e Orientamenti per la storia economica della Sardegna aragonese*, (Cagliari 1967).

⁹ Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, (Paris 1966) pp. 561 f., and “Prix et niveaux de vie dans les pays catalans et maghrébins à la fin du XIII^e et au début du XIV^e siècles”, *Le Moyen Age* 71, (1965) pp. 475–520.

cultural interest in the records of royal expenses. Beginning in 1977 with an article on the *Subsidia* granted in 1329–34, Professor Manuel Sánchez Martínez has published numerous and very important studies of fiscal questions in the Crown of Aragon.¹⁰ He is primarily interested in the process by which a new fiscal machinery was installed in Catalonia in the fourteenth century and especially in the role played in this by the Catalan cities and towns.¹¹ I return to this question below.

Before trying to arrive at some idea of the way the royal finances worked and of how much money was collected and how it was spent it is worth considering when and how the elaborate mechanism of financial bureaucracy in operation in the fourteenth century came into being.

Thomas Bisson has noted the difference in the twelfth century between Catalonia and northern Europe. In Catalonia “progressive or bureaucratic impulses met challenges in a land where the burden of traditional practice weighed heavily on fiscal administration”.¹² While, in 1220, under Jaime I, the responsibility for finance was delegated to two Templars, one for Aragon, the other for Catalonia, in the thirteenth century in general many of the main financial officials were Jewish.¹³

A crucial change came in the 1280s; it was due to the influence of Sicily. There a College of “magistri rationales”, with control over all financial affairs, is documented under Frederick II’s successor, Manfred (1258–66). The College continued to operate under Charles I of Anjou, after his defeat of Manfred and conquest of the island; it was still in being under Pedro III of Aragon, when he, in turn, became master of Sicily in 1282. Continuity here was facilitated by the marriage (in 1262) between Manfred’s daughter, Constance, and the future Pedro III. This had brought a number of talented Sicilians to Spain. Among them was Conrado Lancia. Pedro’s conquest of

¹⁰ See Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*. Sánchez Martínez, “‘Questie’ y subsidios en Cataluña durante el primero tercio del siglo XIV: el subsidio para la crusada granadina (1329–1334)”, *Cuadernos de historia económica de Cataluña* 16, (1977) pp. 11–54, and n. 30 below.

¹¹ See the works listed in n. 2, above.

¹² Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia*, 1, p. 157.

¹³ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, pp. 44–46, and Romano, *Judíos al servicio de Pedro*, (cited, n. 19 below).

Sicily was followed by his appointment of Lancia as "magister rationalis magnae curiae". Lancia provided a link between Sicily and the Crown of Aragon. In 1283 he is already documented as (sole) Magister Rationalis in the Crown of Aragon.¹⁴

Pedro's aggressive foreign policy and especially his use of Catalan and Sicilian, as well as Jewish, administrators, provoked a hostile reaction in Aragon which delayed the permanent establishment of the office of Magister Rationalis (Maestre Racional). Conrado Lancia had to be given other posts. In 1285 Pere de Libià appears as Pedro III's second Maestre Racional. Under Pedro's successor, Alfonso III, he became Treasurer. The post of Maestre Racional was suspended for a year, briefly revived for another holder, and then formally abolished by Alfonso III in favour of that of Treasurer.¹⁵

This measure was not to prove permanent. Alfonso III's last Treasurer, Arnau ça Bastida, became Maestre Racional when this office was revived by Alfonso's successor, Jaime II, in 1293. This date marks the Maestre's acquisition of a separate archive and series of registers. Unlike his brother Alfonso III, Jaime II knew Sicily well; he had ruled it from 1285 to 1291. His endorsement of the office of Maestre Racional was a recognition of the value of a central organisation which could control all branches of royal finance.¹⁶

The creation of this new office was not only due to Jaime II. It can be considered the product of an alliance between the Crown and the bourgeois of Barcelona, typified by Arnau ça Bastida. Bastida's role in royal finance was perhaps even more important than Conrado Lancia's earlier. Under Pedro III he had already become a major creditor of the Crown. By 1290 Bastida was owed what Professor Montagut has called an "astronomical" sum by Alfonso III. The only way he could be repaid was if he and his associates succeeded in improving the workings of the royal finances so that he would actually receive the tenth of all royal revenues which Alfonso had been obliged to promise him. Jaime II had had to renew this promise and in fact to increase his debt to Bastida. He sought to meet this obligation by measures which included control over all the revenues not only of the Crown of Aragon but also of Sicily. In this way the

¹⁴ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, pp. 62 f., 65 f., 67; 2: 84 f.

¹⁵ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, pp. 79–81, 96, 104, 109, 120–24.

¹⁶ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, pp. 153 f.

interests of the Crown and of Bastida (now invested with the office of Maestre Racional) were inextricably linked.¹⁷ Although Bastida's position was exceptional—his successors as Maestres were not assigned part of royal revenues—the Maestre and the Treasurer were two of the very few officials whose jurisdiction extended throughout the Crown of Aragon and was not limited to one or other of the separate realms, Catalonia, Valencia, or Aragon proper. The new financial superstructure finally imposed by Jaime on the older local revenue collectors was clearly intended as a necessary modernisation, which would assist the Crown to withstand the formidable hostility of France, the papacy, and the Angevins of Naples and, at times, also of Castile.

As compared to these great antagonists the resources of the Crown of Aragon were very limited and they needed to be mobilised in the most efficient way possible. Jaime II's choice of Treasurer and Maestre Racional reflects the importance he attached to these offices; they circulated among a small number of people. From 1297 to 1300 Jaime's Treasurer was his leading admiral, Bernat de Sarrià. The Maestre Racional from 1293 to 1302 was the leading administrator Arnau çà Bastida (who had acted as Treasurer in earlier years). Pere Marc, after having held the office of *escrivà de ració*, became Treasurer in 1306 and Maestre Racional from 1329 to 1336. From 1339 to 1408 all the successive Maestres Racionals were honoured citizens either of Valencia or Barcelona; three Maestres had served earlier as Treasurer.¹⁸

These men represented a new type of Christian lay official. Up to the 1280s the kings of Aragon had employed Jewish experts to supervise their revenues. Jucef Ravaya had held the office of Treasurer until 1282. He was the only person—apart from the king and his heir—whose responsibility extended throughout Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. The Maestres Racionals were to enjoy the same wide powers.¹⁹ Pressure from the nobility and the cities during the war with France had forced the Crown to discontinue using Jewish admin-

¹⁷ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, pp. 157–172.

¹⁸ See Christian Guilleré, "Les finances de la Couronne d'Aragon au début du XIV^e siècle (1300–1310)", in M. Sánchez Martínez (ed.), *Estudios sobre renta, fiscalidad y finanzas en la Cataluña bajomedieval*, (Barcelona 1993) pp. 487–507, at 489; Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, pp. 174 f., 177 n. 32, 188 f. The temporary absence of a Maestre did not imply a pause in the operation of the office.

¹⁹ See D. Romano, *Judíos al servicio de Pedro el Grand e de Aragón (1276–1285)*, (Barcelona 1983); Montagut, 1: 51–54.

istrators (in Castile, in contrast, they continued to control much of royal finance until 1492). Jaime II, who began his reign in strife with the papacy, had to appear a respectable Christian; he gradually ceased to employ Jews even as envoys to Islamic North Africa where their knowledge of Arabic gave them obvious advantages.²⁰

The system set up by Jaime II was far more elaborately defined by his grandson, Pedro IV (1336–87), a ruler even more interested in administration than his grandfather. The Catalan *Ordinances* issued by Pedro in 1344 are, as has been observed, a “servile” translation, with very few changes—notably a greater emphasis on ceremonial—of the Latin *Leges Palatinae* (1337) of his unfortunate cousin, brother-in-law and victim, Jaime III of Majorca (1324–49). The *Leges* contain regulations regarding the Maestre Racional, the Treasurer, and the *escrivà de ració*. Both the Majorcan *Leges* and the Catalan *Ordinances* attempt to describe the situation as it was. It has been suggested that while the officials described in the *Ordinances* actually existed, those listed in the Majorcan *Leges* may not have done so. However, a study by Marcel Durliat (written in the 1960s but only published in 1991) has shown that the Maestre is documented in the kingdom of Majorca from the time of Jaime III’s predecessor, Sancho. Durliat has demonstrated the meticulous attention paid by Jaime III to every aspect of the organisation of his court. The real difference between Majorca and Aragon consisted in the larger scale of the latter court (some 220 persons as compared to 142).²¹ The greater resources of

²⁰ Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 1, (Philadelphia 1966) pp. 171–77; 2, pp. 1–6.

²¹ For Pedro IV’s *Ordinacions* see *CDIACA* 5, (1850). There is a facsimile of the *Leges Palatinae* (MS. Brussels 9169), with a separate volume of commentaries, transcription and translation, *Lleis Palatines* (Palma, 1991). The commentaries, by Gabriel Llompart and Marcel Durliat, and the translation, by Miquel Pascual Pont, are in Catalan (Palma, 1991). For the Maestre Racional see *Quarta Pars*, MS. Brussels 9169, fols. 46–49 (pp. 164 f. of the transcription). The remarks on the differences between the *Leges* and Pedro’s *Ordinacions*, by F. Sevillano Colom, “Apuntes para el estudio de la Cancillería de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso”, *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 20, (1950) pp. 137–241, are corrected by Sevillano himself, “De la Cancillería de los Reyes de Mallorca, 1276–1343”, *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 42, (1972) pp. 217–89, and by Durliat, *Lleis Palatines*, pp. 60, 72, who shows that under Sancho and Jaime III there was a Maestre Racional in Majorca (see also Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, p. 195 n. 60). For the Queens of Majorca and Aragon see Durliat, *Lleis Palatines*, p. 47, for comparative figures for personnel pp. 50 f. For fiscal records for the kingdom of Majorca see Durliat, *L’Art dans le Royaume de Majorque*, (Toulouse 1963), 359–61, 364–67. O. Schena, *Le leggi palatine di Pietro IV d’Aragona*, (Cagliari 1983), is a Italian translation of Pedro IV’s *Ordinacions*; see also

the Aragonese court are also evident in the small revenue enjoyed by Jaime III's queen (Pedro IV's sister) as compared to the queen of Aragon. The disproportion between the two courts may well have played a role in Queen Constanca's abandonment of her husband in 1342, in favour of her brother.²²

Professor Montagut sees "the political regime of the kingdom of Majorca as a copy, on a reduced scale, of that of the Crown of Aragon". This view is supported by the evidence for the existence in Aragon from the thirteenth century on of offices and practices described in the *Leges Palatinae*. Montagut sees a crucial difference in the fact that Majorca apparently did not possess a separate archive for the Maestre such as existed from 1293 in Aragon.²³ It remains true that Jaime III was the first to draw up regulations regarding these offices and that he clearly intended to apply them.²⁴ Jaime was older than Pedro. When the conflict between them began the king of Majorca was far better known and more highly considered, for instance at the papal court at Avignon, than his cousin. From an early age and throughout his life he displayed a real interest in books, especially legal texts, though also in theology. The *Leges* should be seen as an (outstanding) example of these interests. By the legislation they contained and also by the remarkable miniatures that adorn the original manuscript and also that of the *Libre de franquesses* of 1339–42, Jaime provided Pedro IV not only with a model for his principal legal compilation but also with the image of majesty with which he wished to be presented to the world.²⁵ The importance attached by Pedro IV to Jaime's books also appears in the considerable efforts he made to secure them after the fall of his enemy's kingdom.²⁶

Pedro's *Ordinances*, copied from the *Leges*, continued in force for

her and J. Trenchs' article, "Le leggi palatinae [sic] di Giacomo III di Maiorca nella corte di Pietro [sic] IV d'Aragona", *XIII Congr s d'Hist ria de la Corona d'Arag , Comunicacions*, 2, (Palma de Mallorca 1990) pp. 111–119.

²² See my introduction to Pere III of Catalonia, *Chronicle*, (trans.) M. Hillgarth, (Toronto 1980) 1, pp. 73–5.

²³ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, p. 193.

²⁴ Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 1, p. 194.

²⁵ See J.N. Hillgarth, "Los libros y la cultura de Jaime III de Mallorca", *XIII Congr s*, 2, pp. 75–81, and "Un inventario del rey Jaime III de Mallorca (1349) y otros documentos sobre la dinast a mallorquina", *Estudios lulianos* 30, (1990) pp. 57–74.

²⁶ Hillgarth, "Los libros", p. 78. On the economic situation in Majorca in the first third of the fourteenth century see P. Cateura Benn sser, *El Regne Esval : desenvolupament econ mic, subordinaci  pol tica, expansi  fiscal (Mallorca, 1300–1335)*, (Mallorca 1998).

two centuries. In 1358 Pedro issued supplementary *Ordinances* for the Maestre.²⁷ This second collection was devised by the then holder of the office and was highly practical in nature. It was designed to ensure an effective control by the Maestre's staff over all accounts, whether submitted by court officials or local collectors. The Maestre was to force all officials to render accounts and not to tolerate postponements. The General Bailiffs of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia and the royal procurators of Majorca and Roussillon were to render accounts every two years, the general administrators of Sardinia every three. The scribes in the office were not to issue acknowledgements of accounts, even at the king's personal command, nor were they to raise questions on important points, until the Maestre or his deputy had checked the accounts themselves. Regulations to avoid bribery were reinforced. A team of clerks, headed by the Maestre or his deputy, was to accompany the travelling royal court. Any sum remaining over from the accounts rendered was to be given to the Treasurer. All proceedings within the office were to be kept secret. These *Ordinances* were sworn to by the Maestre, his deputy, and fifteen secretaries. They were republished twice in Pedro's reign.²⁸

According to the *Ordinances* of 1344 and the standard commissions issued to successive Treasurers, these officials were to "demand and receive *all* the revenues due to the Crown, from whatever part of the royal dominions they came". They were also to pay all the sums prescribed by the king. As in Majorca, every six months they were to account to the Maestre Racional (whose nearest modern equivalent could be the American General Accounting Office).²⁹

The surviving accounts show that the Treasurer did account in this way. The rest of his instructions were not carried out so systematically. A few examples will suffice. Only a very small part of the

²⁷ ACA, RP, reg. 781, fols. 280–287 (4 June 1358), Montagut (ed.), *El Maestre Racional*, 2, pp. 33–39.

²⁸ In 1376 and 1383 (Montagut, *El Maestre Racional*, 2, p. 40).

²⁹ See, for instance, the commission to Bernat de Olzinelles in 1348, ACA, RP, MR 642, fols. 317v–318r: "axí que vos en nom del dit Senyor [Rey] demanassets e reebessets *totes* les rendes, exides e esdeveniments e tota la moneda de qualque part a la sua Cort pervengues o pervenir degues, per qual se vol manera o rahó, axí en los regnes e terres del Senyor Rey dessa mar com della mar. En aytal empero manera que daço que reebriets faessets les dates e pagassets les assignacions que dit Senyor Rey vos manava, segons que *totes* les dites rahons en la dita carta de vostra commissió son largament contengudes". A virtually identical commission on 25 June 1373 (MR 647, fol. v). See also *CDIACA* 5, pp. 158–60.

subsidy raised from the royal towns in Catalonia in 1329–34—for a crusade against Granada—passed through the Treasurer’s hands. Only 28.60% of the sum originally demanded was actually collected and most even of this amount was absorbed by other persons—principally by Prince Pedro, King Alfonso IV’s brother—and not by the official object of the collection. The Royal Treasury only actually received 1.63% of the total collected.³⁰ The Maestre’s registers show—to take another instance—that in 1339 he received an account from a local official in Tarazona who had been ordered, four years before, to collect a subsidy from the Jewish and Muslim communities in Aragon. This man had paid part of what he collected to the Treasurer, part to the *escrivà de ració*, part to cover a debt owed to the archbishop of Tarragona, and “some other sums [unspecified in nature or destination] by an unspecified, royal order”. The only place where the total appears is in the Maestre’s books. In 1339 the king ordered “that all assignations [of money] made [until now] be revoked and that all revenue due should go to the Treasurer”. But he soon made an exception for the *escrivà de ració*.³¹

It has been estimated that in 1335 the Treasurer’s accounts recorded about two-thirds of the Crown’s revenues, as distinct from the money received by the queen’s treasurer and by that of Prince Pedro. Much revenue had been alienated or assigned elsewhere, either in perpetuity or for the life of the recipient. Loans were needed to fill the gap; they reached 11.56% of total receipts.³²

The disbursement of money followed as erratic a course as its collection. Most court officials were paid months late. In 1366 an official was only reimbursed for the cost of an embassy on which he had been sent seventeen years earlier.³³

³⁰ Sánchez Martínez, “‘Questie’ y subsidios”, pp. 43, 54.

³¹ See MR 636, fols. 208v–212r (January 1339), the account rendered by Aznar Sobrino, merino of Tarazona, referring to “alguns altres per manament”. MR 637, fol. 60r, “totes assignacions per ell fetes fossen revocades e que totes les diners de la sua Cort venguessen a mà e a poder de seu tresorer e que per lo dit tresorer se aguessen a fer totes les pagues”. The exception for Berenguer de Codinachs, *scrivà de ració*, is dated to May 1338 and again referred to on 24 March 1340. Another (only apparent) exception: in 1364 Pere Vicens, *escrivà de la Tresoreria*, and Berenguer des Prats, doctor en leys, received a commission to demand a number of “ballesters” (cross-bow men) from the towns of Catalonia for the war with Castile. They collected the sum of 14,971 sous of Barcelona and 634 gold florins, which they spent (having powers from the Treasurer to do so). ACA, RP, MR 644 fol. 243r–v.

³² Guilleré, “Les finances de la Couronne d’Aragon”, pp. 489, 491, 497.

³³ In 1349 Ramon de Vilanova was ordered to go to Castile with Bernat de

At the end of almost every accounting period the Treasurer had to acknowledge a deficit. Because of the range of moneys, both real and of account, in which sums were reckoned, the amount of this deficit is hard to calculate. The main money of account used were the pounds, shillings and pence ("libri, solidi, denarii") of Barcelona, an originally Carolingian system, used until the 1970s in England. Of these only the penny was actually struck. The pound of Jaca, in Aragon, a little more valuable, was used less. Many Castilian, French and Italian coins were also listed, gold morabatis, torneses d'argent, florins d'or, ducats, karlis, reysals d'or, anyells, doubles, scuts, paveses, moltons, etc., not to mention objects, ranging from silver basins to donkeys.³⁴ Equivalencies are often—not always—given, in itself valuable information, but all this complicates one's calculation of the whole sum.

A few figures for the Treasurer's accounts may be useful. Under Jaime II in 1306 the deficit was only £1,000 but in 1309—presumably because of the then war with Granada—it rose sharply to £16,500. This was despite the fact that in 1307–11 the sums collected more than tripled, from £25,000 to £90,000.³⁵ In Jaime's reign, until 1327, the deficit normally fluctuated between £5,000 and £9,000, falling unusually, to £1,300 in 1327, and rising, once, to £12,250 in 1313.³⁶ Under Alfonso IV (1327–36) the deficit appears to diminish and does not rise above £5,000. At times it is below £1,000.³⁷ With the accession of the young Pedro IV expenses again substantially exceed receipts. Despite exceptional revenues the deficit reaches £20,000 for the first time in 1339.³⁸ It then shrinks for the next few peaceful years and—for reasons I shall go into later—only increases slightly during the 1340s and 1350s, despite the wars of these decades. In the second half of 1363, during the long and hardly contested war with Castile, the Treasurer achieved an exact balance

Cabrera and four galleys, two from Valencia, one from Barcelona and one from Majorca. He received 72,380 sous of Barcelona from the Treasurer. The cost of the embassy amounted to 78,372 sb. He was not paid the difference until 2 January 1366. MR 644, fols. 255r–256r.

³⁴ See, for instance, MR 624, fol. 142 (listing, apart from coins, "copes ab sobre-cops d'or, bacins d'argent", cloth from India and Paris and "350 live sheep"). Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, vol. 2, (Oxford 1978) pp. 629–33.

³⁵ For 1306–07 see MR 269, fol. 58r. Guilleré, "Les finances de la Couronne d'Aragon", p. 493; Hillgarth, *The Problem*, pp. 7 f.

³⁶ For 1313 see MR 276, fol. 126v, for 1327 MR 296, fol. 87v.

³⁷ See MR 297–307, 632–634.

³⁸ MR 637, fols. 57r–58r.

between revenue and expenditure, a unique phenomenon in the century.³⁹ The highest deficit of Pedro's reign came later, in 1379 (£35,500).⁴⁰

Deficits did not accumulate. Normally the first item one sees in every new accounting period is when the Treasurer repays himself (by permission of the *Maestre Racional*) the amount he had overspent in the preceding period. Only very occasionally was he not repaid and had to bear the loss himself. In 1329 the Treasurer was not repaid some £550 he was owed (he was, as one learns from another source, in political disgrace).⁴¹ This may not seem a very heavy penalty until one looks at a few figures for salaries and sees that £550 represented the year's salary of a leading official, such as the admiral.⁴² The larger sum of almost £2,250 owed to the Treasurer in 1344 was not paid because of doubts raised about his accounts; it was only some thirty years later that it was paid to the son of the unlucky man in question.⁴³

These are the only exceptions I can find in eighty years to the usual "carry-forward" operation, which can also be found, so I am told, in more modern accounting practices. What causes greater concern is the disparity between the Treasurer's books and other evidence we have for royal finances. These books contain much useful evidence for prices and salaries as well as for monetary equivalents, and a great deal of miscellaneous information of interest, such as a fine levied in 1307 on one Jew for wounding another (it was valued at £50).⁴⁴ They do not reveal the total picture but they provide valuable indications of shifts in royal finance, indications that need to be supplemented from the other series I have mentioned. There does

³⁹ MR 347; see MR 644, fols. 291v–293r.

⁴⁰ MR 650, fols. 61v–63r.

⁴¹ García de Loriç held the office of Treasurer from December 1327 to 17 February 1330, when he was succeeded by Felip de Boyl, but Loriç was not reimbursed "per rahó de molts e diverses dubtes e notaments" (MR 631, fol. 26r), probably because he was out of favour with Alfonso IV; see Pere III, *Crònica*, I, pp. 50–51, in *Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*, (ed.) F. Soldevila, (Barcelona 1971) p. 1021.

⁴² See Ch.-E. Dufourcq, "Prix et niveaux", p. 511 (30 *sous* per day, calculated as extending throughout the year).

⁴³ MR 323, fol. 41r; the debt was only paid in 1374, at the supplication of Johan d'Ulzinelles, the son of the late Treasurer; see MR 322a (in 322), e.g. fol. 21v: "Item, deu mostrar que haia posades en reebuda complidament les LXX mill llibres. barch. atorgades al Senyor Rey per lo General de Cathalunya en ayuda de la executió d'En Jacme de Mallorches".

⁴⁴ MR 270, fol. 5v.

not appear, however, to be anything discoverable that resembles a modern consolidated balance sheet.

Where did the Crown's revenues come from? As in other monarchies of the time they may be divided into ordinary and extraordinary sources of supply. In 1315 most of the ordinary revenues from Catalonia and Aragon were mortgaged in advance, to pay off loans or to pay pensions.⁴⁵ These mortgages extended to the very heavy taxes exacted from the Jewish communities. The Jews were under very severe pressure. In 1323 the Catalan Jewish communities contributed as much as all the Catalan cities to the expedition to Sardinia; the Jewish contribution (£25,000) constituted 35% of all the sums raised in Catalonia, more than was paid by all the Catalan cities.⁴⁶ In the 1330s these Jewish communities probably numbered only in all 10,000 to 12,000 persons. In 1334 the Jews of Barcelona and Girona paid more than all the Catalan towns put together.⁴⁷ Ten years later, in 1342–44, the city of Barcelona offered to pay half of the money needed for the war in the Strait of Gibraltar and against Majorca; these wars attracted popular support in a maritime city concerned for its trade and especially anxious to put down its Majorcan commercial rival.⁴⁸

The Crown functioned in part by applying for extraordinary grants (hearth-taxes) to the parliaments of the three separate realms, and, in part, by a series of what can be termed extra-parliamentary expedients. It was very difficult, even during a war, to extract money from the parliaments and any grant made had special conditions attached to it.

Extra-parliamentary expedients included fines levied on individual Jews and on Jewish communities, fines for illegally trading with

⁴⁵ See Hillgarth, *The Problem*, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Hillgarth, *The Problem*, p. 5, citing Antonio Arribas Palau, *La Conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón*, (Barcelona 1952) pp. 183–4.

⁴⁷ Sánchez Martínez, *El naixement*, pp. 100 f.; Sánchez Martínez, “‘Questie’”, p. 42 n. 129. In 1336 Pedro IV demanded 130,000 *sous* of Barcelona (£6,500) from the Jews of the city as a special subsidy “per rahó de les messions . . . per deffensió de la sua terra”. £6,000 was received and applied to the expenses of the Royal Household. MR 310, fol. 1v. The much smaller Jewish community in Girona had to pay almost £5,000 (fol. 2). As soon as the money came in it had to be paid to Berenguer de Relat, a member of the Household, who had loaned the Treasury money to cover its expenses.

⁴⁸ Sánchez Martínez, *El naixement*, p. 112.

Islamic countries (notably Alexandria) or for non-appearance on feudal service, taxes on the clergy, and the sale of the royal patrimony. In 1338, when receipts exceeded £50,000—apparently for the first time—the largest single item (£8,500) was a loan from the then Treasurer to the king. There were large contributions (perhaps £15,000) for the king's marriage, a fine of about £1,500 levied on an individual Jew, large loans from bankers and bishops. The figures for expenses this year are lost.⁴⁹

Pedro IV's early wars, with Majorca and Genoa, were mainly financed by contributions by interested parties, the conquest of Majorca, as has been noted, largely by the city of Barcelona, which needed to eliminate an independent commercial rival, the war with Genoa in large part by Genoa's enemy, Venice. A Venetian contribution of almost 100,000 gold florins (£73,000) appears in the Treasurer's book for 1356 and we know from other sources that much of Pedro's fleet was paid for by Venice.⁵⁰

Many royal institutions lived off the Crown's patrimony. During the fourteenth century this was greatly reduced by alienations. In the 1330s the revenue from the patrimony fell from an annual average of £7,700 to one of £2,900.⁵¹ In 1358–62 much of the patrimony was sold to pay for the war with Castile, in 1367–70 to counter the revolt of Mariano IV of Arborea in Sardinia, in the 1380s to pay the debts owed by the Crown to the bankers of Barcelona, and in the 1390s because of the problems in Sardinia and the conquest of Sicily.⁵²

Sánchez Martínez has traced the laborious process by which, between the 1280s and the 1360s, the pressure of increasingly large-scale wars, first in the Mediterranean and later with Castile, “stimulated the development of a new ‘fiscalitat d'état’ . . . that relied on regular and permanent exactions rather than on [the] occasional and extraordinary” measures sketched above, and extended to the whole of Catalonia.⁵³ The decisive years were 1350–65, the period when

⁴⁹ MR 312. See José Trenchs Odena, “‘De Alexandrinis’ (El comercio prohibido con los musulmanes y el papado de Aviñón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV)”, *AEM* 10, (1980) pp. 237–320.

⁵⁰ MR 338, fol. 6v; see Pere III, *Crònica*, V, 4 (ed. Soldevila, p. 1112).

⁵¹ Sánchez Martínez, *El naixement*, pp. 85, 87.

⁵² Sánchez Martínez, *El naixement*, p. 117.

⁵³ See Philip Daileader's review of *El naixement*, in *Speculum* 74, (1999) p. 249 f.

a real fiscal system was set up for the first time in Catalonia (earlier attempts to do this, in 1323 and 1340, not having proved successful). In 1359, during the war with Castile, the Catalan Corts conceded £288,000 to the Crown; this was to be collected in two years. Half of this sum was to be paid by the towns. In 1362–63 the Corts Generals, representing Valencia, Aragon and Majorca, as well as Catalonia, granted a further £250,000, 52% of which was due from Catalonia. 1364–65 saw the consolidation of the system under the control of a new institution, the Diputació del General of Catalonia.⁵⁴

The war with Castile dragged on from 1356 into the 1370s; it was largely, though inadequately, financed by grants from the Corts. The very large revenue recorded for 1358 (almost £100,000), which resulted in a credit balance, was due to such a grant.⁵⁵ Further grants swelled the receipts in 1359–61 and kept the Treasurer's accounts in credit, or at least kept down deficits.⁵⁶ Even so the war could not have been waged without the help of the Castilian exiles, led (in large part) by Enrique de Trastámara, the eventually successful pretender to the Castilian throne. Like Venice, in the earlier war, they were interested parties but, unlike Venice, they had to be paid. In 1356 Enrique had to be promised an annual revenue of £5,000 "on the lands of Prince Ferrando [the king's half-brother]".⁵⁷ Nine years later, in 1365, the Castilians exacted a promise of 30,000 gold florins (£16,500) merely to buy replacements for their horses.⁵⁸ The invasion of Castile in 1366 was undertaken by mercenary companies, hired, at vast expense, with the financial help of the papacy and of the French Crown.⁵⁹ When Pedro IV had to confront Enrique de

⁵⁴ Sánchez Martínez, *El naixement*, pp. 120, 126–133; Sánchez Martínez, "La fiscalidad real en Catalunya (siglo XIV)", *AEM* 22, (1992) pp. 341–76; see also the references in *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 17, (1998) p. 680.

⁵⁵ MR 340. It is explicitly stated by the Maestre Racional (in MR 643) that the Reebudes (income) included the "proferta" (offer) by the General de Catalunya.

⁵⁶ MR 643, fols. 252v, 254v, 258; 341; 644, fols. 168–170.

⁵⁷ Pedro IV's letter of 20 August 1356, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1293 fol. 43v: "per sustentació de sa provisió C mill sol. de renda sobre los lochs e terres quel Infant en Ferrando ha en los seus regnes e terres". See Pere III, *Crònica*, (ed.) Soldevila, VI, 8–9, pp. 1130 f.

⁵⁸ MR 351, fol. 110v: payments to Enrique and other Castilians, "e als altres cavallers e escuders castellans . . . a ops de comprar cavalls".

⁵⁹ Pere III, *Crònica*, VI, 57–61, pp. 1150–52; Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 1, (Oxford 1976) pp. 382–84.

Trastámara, by then the new king of Castile and an ally of France, these foreign sources of supply were no longer available. Gold from Pedro's ally, Portugal, received in 1372 to the tune of almost 170,000 florins (over £90,000) was not sufficient for Pedro to fight on two fronts, against Castile and a rebellion in Sardinia; this swallowed all the gold available.⁶⁰

Grants from the Corts meant considerable concessions from the monarchy. For the Crown of Aragon the most durable result of Pedro's wars with Castile was the rise of the Corts and of their permanent Deputations, which came to control more money than the royal treasury. In 1362 Pedro was already selling towns and castles with the jurisdiction attached to them. These sales increased spectacularly in 1366 but still failed to prevent a large deficit. Like the English Parliament in the seventeenth century, the Corts believed the Crown should live off its patrimony but this was rapidly wasting away. From 1376 deficits rise gradually to over £35,000. Then, in 1380, they fall suddenly to under £15,000.⁶¹ One reason for this happy state of affairs was, however, Pedro's final abandonment of all the claims of territorial concessions from Castile for which he had waged so long and so costly a war. For this he was paid 180,000 gold florins (£95,000).⁶² The Crown was now principally dependent on loans from individual bankers. In 1381–83, during a period when the Treasurer's books show very small deficits, all but one of the main banks in Barcelona failed, revealing that the Crown owed them the vast sum of £290,000.⁶³

⁶⁰ MR 647, fols. 1–5, records the arrival of “1,886 marches, 4 onzes, 19 diners d'or de dobles portogaleses a march de Perpenya (= 1,963 marches, 19 diners, 12 grans d'or . . . a marc de Lisbona)”. The Treasurer was instructed that the gold, “de manament del Senyor Rey, donas . . . als deputats del General de Cathalunya ordonats a distribuir 150,000 florins d'or . . . en ajuda de la guerra de Sardenya, lo quals lo Senyor Rey los mana prestar per rahó del passatge que ladonchs se devia fer ab certs companyes de cavall e de peu . . . a Sardenya”. The Portuguese envoys took 60 marches d'or from the total deposit to make into 5, 221 florins, “que devien servir en alguns affers secrets quels dits portogales tractaven ab lo Senyor Rey”. For the political background see Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 1, pp. 386 f.

⁶¹ For 1376 see MR 649, fols. 4–6; for 1380 MR 652, fols. 20r–22v.

⁶² Pere III, *Crònica*, VI, 63, p. 1153, corroborated by MR 650, fols. 25v–28v (25 August 1380).

⁶³ Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2, p. 19, and the references there given.

The Aragonese monarchy has been described as “a poor State in a rich country”.⁶⁴ It is questionable whether the Crown of Aragon, as a whole, was in fact so rich after the Black Death of 1348. It is certainly true that the monarchy was poor.⁶⁵ Although the continual deficits recorded in the Treasurer’s books can be seen as paper transactions they indicate a trend. Despite the constant rise in nominal royal revenue, from about £30,000 for six months in 1308 to about £170,000 for the same period in 1384, it could not keep pace with expenses.⁶⁶ In 1378 Pedro had planned an expedition to Sardinia and Sicily and had raised a very large sum of money (over £100,000) to finance it. Ships were prepared for it. This expedition never set sail.⁶⁷ In 1386, the year before he died, Pedro acknowledged he owed the bankers of Barcelona almost £57,000. He had had to sell or mortgage even more of his patrimony, including one vulnerable frontier region in the Pyrenees.⁶⁸

One may conclude that, in comparison with other contemporary monarchies, the Crown of Aragon was very weak financially. The improved financial supervision installed by Jaime II and improved on by Pedro IV was not sufficient to enable these monarchs to compete with their rivals. G.L. Harriss, in his study of the English monarchy to 1369, has shown how its “ability to require taxation for war brought a vast increase in its resources and authority”. The English king, like the king of Castile, “could claim to have the wealth of his kingdom at his immediate disposal”. The medieval English House

⁶⁴ See the figures in Ch.-E. Dufourcq, and J. Gautier-Dalché, *Histoire économique et sociale de l’Espagne chrétienne au Moyen Âge*, (Paris 1976) pp. 205 f.

⁶⁵ When Guilleré, “Les finances de la Couronne d’Aragon”, p. 507, questions the poverty of the Crown as a whole, she is discussing the period 1302–1310.

⁶⁶ For 1308 see MR 271, for 1384, MR 352.

⁶⁷ MR 652, fols. 50v–51v, MR 373, fol. 34v. The “Appendix” to Pere III, *Crònica*, p. 1155 blames the failure on “some of our bad counsellors, suborned by the barons of Sicily”.

⁶⁸ MR 652, fols. 49v–50v. On the royal patrimony at the end of *saec.* XIV and the attempts of Martin I to recover it see Ma. T. Ferrer i Mallol, “El patrimoni reial i la recuperació dels senyories jurisdiccionals en els Estats catalano-aragonesos a la fi del segle XIV”, *AEM* 7, (1970–71) pp. 351–491; for later problems see Sánchez Martínez, “Una aproximación a la estructura del dominio real en Cataluña a mediados del siglo XV: el ‘capbreu o memorial de les rendes e drets reys’ de 1440–1444”, in *Estudios sobre renta, fiscalidad y finanzas en la Cataluña bajomedieval*, pp. 381–453.

of Commons and the Castilian Cortes never possessed the powers of the Catalan Corts. In England, as in Castile, "taxation preceded complaint, and, the tax once granted, became the king's property, for which he could not be called to account".⁶⁹ In contrast, in the Crown of Aragon, the opposite procedures were followed and the ruler was increasingly at the mercy of his parliaments.

The reign of Pedro IV's successor, Juan I (1387–96), was marked by a further decline in royal authority. The destruction in 1391 of the principal Jewish communities of Catalonia and Valencia removed one of its principal financial resources. Despite the king's threats to punish those responsible (570 names are listed for Lérida, 770 for Barcelona) he appears to have been mainly concerned to profit financially. The sums levied as fines on the cities in question were enormous; when reduced they still amounted to £120,000 for Lérida and £300,000 for Barcelona, a total of £420,000 (in florins over two and a half tons of gold).⁷⁰ But these sums could only be levied once. (In 1334 one Jew could be mulcted to the extent of £15,000.)⁷¹ Juan I was mainly sustained by Luigi Scarampo, a Genoese financier of very dubious loyalty, who negotiated loans for which interest of thirty per cent had to be paid. After Juan's death in 1396 his corrupt counsellors were tried; one of the many accusations against them was that they had dissipated the royal patrimony "like devouring wolves".⁷² The accusers' determination to damn Juan's memory led one of his leading courtiers, Ramon de Perellós (who was among those brought to trial in 1396), to make a pilgrimage to the Purgatory of St. Patrick on Lough Derg in Ireland to be able to say that Juan was in Purgatory rather than in Hell. Another member of Juan's court, and a far greater writer, Bernat Metge (also among those accused in 1396), used *Lo somni* to protest his innocence, evidently

⁶⁹ G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369*, (Oxford 1975) pp. 510–513.

⁷⁰ J. Riera Sans, "Los tumultos contra las juderías de la Corona de Aragón en 1391", *Cuadernos de historia* 8, (1977) p. 225.

⁷¹ Ismail Doblates, a Jew from Navarre, was assessed at £15,000. MR 306, fol. 13r.

⁷² M. de Riquer (ed.), *Obras de Bernat Metge*, (Barcelona 1959) pp. *89–*126, *134 f.; C. Manca, *Fonti e Orientamenti per la storia economica della Sardegna aragonese*, p. 31; Marina Mitjà, "Procés contra els consellers, domèstics i curials de Joan I, entre ells Bernat Metge", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27, (1957–58) pp. 345–417.

successfully, since he was freed from prison and became the secretary of Juan's brother and successor, Martín I, as he had been of Juan I.⁷³ Although Martín (1396–1410), made valiant efforts to redeem the patrimony of the Crown, towards the end of the reign internal and external problems made it impossible to continue them and the process of alienation began again.⁷⁴

⁷³ M. de Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana*, 2 (Barcelona 1964) pp. 309–333; *Obras de Bernat Metge*, pp. *173–75.

⁷⁴ Ferrer i Mallol, “El patrimoni reial”, p. 450. For a slightly later period see *Rentas reales de Aragón de la época de Fernando I (1412–1416)*, (ed.) F. Vendrell Gallostra, (CDIACA 47, 1977).

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THE CRUSADE AGAINST MURCIA:
PROVISIONING THE ARMIES OF
JAMES THE CONQUEROR, 1264–1267

Robert I. Burns, S.J.

The word Crusade evokes a pageant of cavalry in battle array, a flourish of banners and heraldry. Such military theatre could sustain itself, however, only in a persistent context of food services, mechanical maintenance, supplies of horses and weapons, and mule trains for transport. Even such detached auxiliaries as the medical or pharmaceutical personnel, the chaplains, the notarial staff for unending paperwork, and the prisoner-processing function demanded attention. Arabist Jews stood by to interpret and negotiate when a Muslim castle surrendered, and to draft in suitable bilingual rhetoric the ensuing treaties. Financial personnel and investors were among the hangers-on; proto-bonds were floated for ready money, and repayment of loans regularly audited. A bustle of household servitors attended the presence of king and magnates in their splendid portable tents—from treasurers and paymasters to cooks and wardrobe masters. The catapult artillery required stonemasons for calibrated projectiles; and crossbow quarrels had to be stockpiled. Sappers, miners, and engineers deployed their specialized skills.¹

In such a cavalcade every single mouth, animal or human, needed an allotment of food and drink daily, monthly, unceasingly, along with the animal and ship transport which that primal need predated. An advancing army might therefore screen a thousand or two thousand laden mules enveloped in the army's dust cloud. A siege camp would display its thousands of livestock taken by raiding or import—between cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs—as meat on the hoof. Camp butchers were as central to the army's functioning in siege as

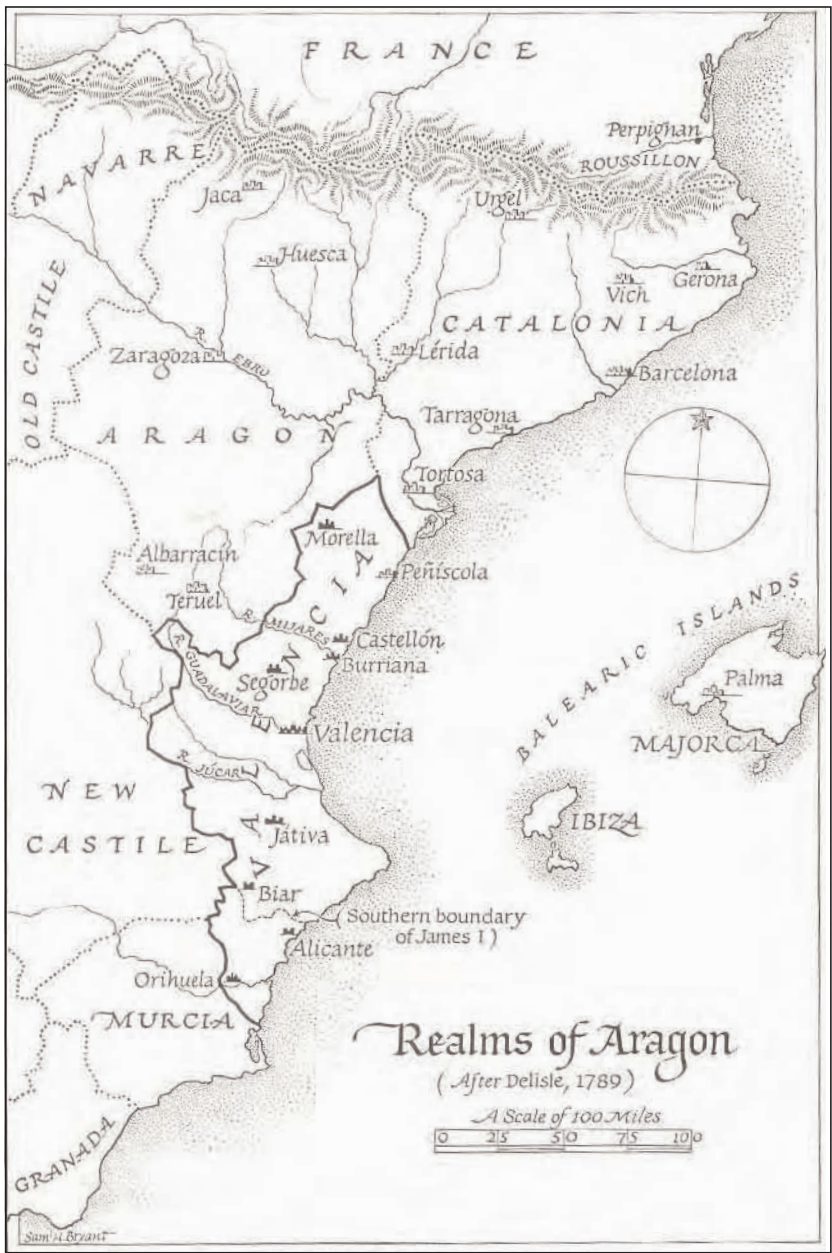
¹ All these functions are on display in the lengthy memoirs of James the Conqueror (see note 5) and in his ample archives (see note 24 and text). For many of them see the siege and treaty chapters in R.I. Burns S.J. and P.E. Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain*, (Leiden, New York 1999).

were crossbowmen. Meanwhile combat personnel guarded depots with stocks of wheat, barley, wine, cheese, and salt meat. Merchants in foodstuffs, as well as shippers where water transport was feasible, waited among the miscellany of camp followers for their mercantile opportunities, and bought up or auctioned the surplus loot from raids.

Provisioning in all its details was central to any extended crusading campaign. It could dictate the route and set the pace of an invading army. As Henry IV of France was later to note about his Spanish wars: "Invade with a large force and you are destroyed by starvation; invade with a small one and you are overwhelmed by a hostile population". The army could become "a mere escort for its food", requiring a series of elaborate camps.² Fixed supply depots required credible garrisons. Wells and rivers were of great importance not only for the combatants but for the horses and pack-train; such water supplies were vulnerable to ambushes and contamination. Foraging on the march could serve an army briefly, but success at this was inevitably random and aleatory. At best, foraging could supplement an army's needs or support a raid. And the enemy could have the foresight to drive off their domestic animals into local defense towers and to hide their chattels. Differences in terrain and time period can modify this picture of the provisioning necessities for a crusading army; but it holds for the thirteenth-century Spanish scene we shall be investigating here.

The Castilian wars against the Muslims at this period seem based upon extensive raiding as well as sieging of towns, with set-piece battles like Las Navas de Tolosa rare. Francisco García-Fitz has recently analyzed the provisioning elements in those wars, arguing that foraging must have been "an habitual form of provisioning", indeed "the usual method", whether by parties detached from a moving column or by sorties from an outpost or a siege camp. Contemporary chroniclers note the need at times to divide an army in enemy territory dangerously in order to exploit the scarce forage; to choose an invasion date prudently so as to arrive at harvest times; and to be vigilant against theft, fraud, and speculation in caring for the provisions the raiders brought in. García-Fitz reckons that an ordinary

² C.E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, 3d edn., (Lincoln, Nebraska 1996) pp. 59 (escort), 60 (Henry IV).



Realms of Aragon

light-cavalry horse consumed then a minimum of 35 liters of water daily plus five kilos of hay and five of oats; multiplied by a thousand such horses and related to the presumed cartage units, a provision column could be at least sixteen kilometers in length. The Castilian sources for provisioning information are not rich in financial records and details of supply, so the conclusions do not easily translate into the provisioning for Mediterranean Spain studied below. At Castilian sieges, García-Fitz notes, provisioning “was one of the gravest problems”; the longer the indefinite siege, the more desperate would simple hunger make the besieging force. This observation can also be applied to the crusades of King James the Conqueror of Aragon-Catalonia, based on sieges, and can help explain his strategy of very generous terms, amnesty, and tolerance. As the Murcian war of James below will indicate, practicality, chivalry, and especially provisioning thus converged to speed a campaign through a series of swift surrenders swiftly accepted.³

The process of provisioning is distinct from the process of financing, though the two are interwoven and the one issues from the other. The present account will have a fair amount about financing, but the perspective is from the acquisition and distribution of provender. For a king’s crusade, financing could come from a general or a special levy, from the transfer of regalian rents, or from a crusader tithe apportioned by the pope. Much of the financing of King James’s crusades was mediated by a multiplicity of credit operations, through loans or debt-bonds issued at high interest and progressively recalled, as well as by the farming of revenues to investors whose maneuvers were regularly audited. Individual magnates and feudatories contributed to their own outfitting and support while on crusade, following the custom incumbent upon their fiefs; they sold or mortgaged lands for ready money, or simply borrowed. Non-participants were invited to share the crusade indulgences and adventure by contributing financial support, or even by going to settle lands as occupiers as soon as the land was conquered. Such private financing, as Giles Constable notes, is less easily tracked and consequently is rather neglected by historians of the charter evidence.⁴

³ F. García-Fitz, *Castilla y León frente al Islam: estrategias de expansión y tácticas militares (siglos xi-xiii)*, (Seville 1998) pp. 90–100 on “Las prioridades logísticas,” quotes on pp. 90–91, 97.

⁴ G. Constable, “The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century”, in

King James the Provisioner

This military infrastructure is on generous display in the long autobiography of King James the Conqueror, ruler of the kingdoms and city states of Aragon-Catalonia and part of Occitania, who managed to squeeze almost twenty wars into his variegated reign from 1213 to 1276.⁵ Donald J. Kagay has laid out the lineaments of James's "army mobilization and administration", as drawn from that autobiography and from a selection of charters from his traveling chancery, with some attention to his credit operations.⁶ The king's book holds many more riches revealing his talents in financing and provisioning his campaigns. An episode from his descent on Valencia city can illustrate that role. James tells us that he began his invasion of the Valencian kingdom, a weighty enterprise lasting from 1232 to 1245, carrying "three weeks' food [between] wheat and wine and barley". As the invaders progressed, they consumed their cumbersome supplies. The king had left stockpiles or depots, but reprovisioning

B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail (eds), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, (Jerusalem 1982) pp. 64–88. On crusade financing see also J. Richard, "Le financement des croisades", in *Pouvoir et gestion* in the series *Histoire, Gestion, Organisation*, 5 (Toulouse 1997), pp. 63–71; and S. Epstein, "Genoa and the Crusades: Piety, Credit, and the Fiscal-Military State", in L. Balleto (ed.), *Oriente e occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: studi in onore Geo Pistarino*, (Genoa 1997) pp. 245–259. Dan Cushing has in hand "A Study of Logistics Concerning the Armies of Philip Augustus and Richard I on the Third Crusade". See the *Bulletin for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, XVII (1997), p. 31.

⁵ In his multilingual realms the king was Jaume or Jacme in Catalonia and Southern France, Jaime for Aragonese or Castilian focus, and Iacobus for formal Latin charters. The present study will use the neutral English James, as well as Peter for his son and successor (Catalan Pere, Aragonese Pero, Castilian Pedro, Latin Petrus) and James for another son. Other Latin names will be translated into their Romance equivalents. King James's memoirs are easily accessible in the competent edition by Ferran Soldevila as *Crònica o Llibre dels fets* in Soldevila's *Les quatre grans cròniques: Jaume I, Bernat Desclot, Ramon Muntaner, Pere III*, (Barcelona 1971) pp. 5–402. More stringent is the philological edition by J. Bruguera, *Llibre dels fets*, 2 vols (Barcelona 1991). Useful too is the facsimile edition of the 1313 manuscript, *Llibre dels fets*, (ed.) M. de Riquer (Barcelona 1972).

⁶ D.J. Kagay, "Army Mobilization, Royal Administration, and the Realms in the Thirteenth-Century Crown of Aragon", in L.J. Simon (ed.), *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, *Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*; vol. 2, *Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, (eds) P.E. Chevedden, D.J. Kagay, and P.G. Padilla, (Leiden 1995–1996) II, pp. 95–116. See Kagay's list of James's nineteen main wars or clusters of campaigns on p. 115. See too the eight tables of James's sieges by P.E. Chevedden in his "The Artillery of King James I the Conqueror", *Essays*, pp. 81–94.

involved a perilous circuit back through enemy land or sea. Eventually at the coastal hillock of Puig overlooking his target Valencia city, he constructed "a roadway to the Puig for the ships that came by sea" to bring up from the dock whatever the army needed. He also brought in by mule-pack "twenty pairs of adobe-moulds" by which to make great quantities of building blocks to fortify the Puig.⁷

He had entrusted a knight to contract and deliver supplies at Puig—300 *cafises* of wheat and 50 hogs. Finding that the knight had surrendered these to merchants as collateral for his own personal debt of 1500 sous (about five annual knight's fees), the king himself took the reprovisioning in hand. He sped north to conquered Burriana, loaded a pack train with "wheat, wine, and barley", then purchased on his own credit "sheep and cows, and goats", and arranged for delivery of a month's supply of "meat". James then rushed further north to the Catalan frontier port of Tortosa, where he loaded "four ships with wheat and wine and salted meat for two months" for the Puig garrison. Then at Salou near Tarragona he immobilized some merchants' ships by confiscating "their rudders and sails". Checking the ships' inventories, he drafted an IOU for the merchants and sent to Puig their cargo of wine for six months, wheat for three months, and barley and salt meat for two months. Riding still further north, to Lérida on the Catalan-Aragonese border, he borrowed from the town's citizens 60,000 sous to pay his note to those Salou merchants.⁸

At one point in his memoirs the king describes an unusual form of foraging. At conquered Burriana "We never left off hunting" with falcons and lance, bagging "boars and cranes and partridges" so that "twenty knights ate in Our house from this hunting, besides other officials".⁹ The hunting, the negotiating with merchants for food, the

⁷ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 455: "quant nos conquerim lo regne de València, metiem a iiii setmanes què menjar . . . de pa e de vi e de civada e ells levaven les lances en les mans"; c. 208–209: "vint parells de tapieres en secret que hom no sabés".

⁸ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 214–216: "enviaren-nos les atzembles, e feem-les carregar de pa, e de vi, e de civada e compram moltons en la host, e vaques e cabres que havien amenades de cavalgada"; "ració sempre per a un mes de la carn"; "quatre llenys de pa, e de vi, e de civada, e de carn salada per a dos mesos"; "los tímons e les veles"; "ració de farina . . . per a tres mesos, e de vi per a sis mesos, e . . . carn salada e civada per a dos mesos". Measurements like the *cafis* were variable by region and time; see C. Alsina et alii, *Pesos, mides i mesures dels països catalans*, (Barcelona 1990). In Valencia the *cafis* could hold from 12 to 24 bushels, equal to some 200 dry liters.

⁹ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 186: "nós no lleixàvem la caça, sí que de nostra caça entre

many slashing raids through enemy territory to seize fowl, domestic livestock, and prisoners for ransom were typical of the king's hectic life as army victualer. They also echo the gustatory preoccupation of the many barons in his Valencian armies, whose feasting filled those large baronial tents still to be seen in contemporary paintings and miniatures.

King James's contemporary and colleague in the Murcian war, Alfonso X the Learned of Castile, has also left us instructions on provisioning an army in his *Siete partidas* law code. Besides the "many" crossbows, bows, and slings, a king should keep armories filled with "many implements of iron" such as "picks, mattocks, spades, levers", and to destroy the enemy's agriculture "large and small axes" plus "scythes and sickles". Crossbowmen when mounted should carry on the belt "a hundred arrows or more"; and should have hurdles to stand behind. The king must be ready beforehand to supply "not only men, horses, arms, and money, but also military engines and tools". Castles should be prepared with bread, meat, fish, salt, oil, vegetables, hand-mills, utensils, clothing, and a main source of water as well as maintenance men to repair any implements. A ship needs provisions of a special nature: "jars of lime" to blind the enemy, soap to slip on, pitch to set enemy ships afire, "stones and arrows", "knives and daggers, spades, axes, clubs, and lances", and victuals such as biscuit, salt meat, vegetables, cheese, garlic, onions, and vinegar to drink (but no wine or alcohol while at sea).¹⁰

King James fought three particularly epic wars in his lifetime, and devoted the three major divisions of his autobiography to their specific telling. His amphibious conquest of Islam's Balearic Islands from 1229 to 1232 comprised the first stage. The stubborn piecemeal absorption of Islamic Valencia, a formidable province running down the Mediterranean coast from below Tortosa to above Murcia, constituted the second. When Nasrid Granada and Marinid North Africa raised a counter crusade to recover not only Castilian Andalusia but also the seaside kingdom of Murcia on Valencia's southern border,

senglars, e grues e perdius viviem en nostra casa, de carn, vint cavallers, menys dels altres oficials".

¹⁰ *Las Siete Partidas*, (ed.) G. López, 7 vols. in 4 (1555; reprint, Madrid 1974): II: xviii, 9–10; xxiii, 3, 22, 24, 25; xxiv, 9; translated by S.P. Scott in *The Siete Partidas*, (ed.) R.I. Burns, S.J., 5 vols. (Philadelphia 2000). See also J.F. O'Callaghan, "War (and Peace) in the Law Codes of Alfonso X", in D.J. Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (eds), *Medieval Warfare Around the Mediterranean*, (in press).

King James had his third epic. That Murcian crusade provides any number of charters from James's registers to illumine the provisioning process.

Counter crusade in Murcia

The course of the coastal Murcian war, within the larger Andalusian war, can be briefly sketched. The Castilians had previously conquered the Islamic province of Murcia in 1243, garrisoning it as a colonial protectorate under its ruling Muslim dynasty. Rebellion festered however, erupting suddenly and successfully twenty years later. It was supported by open war against Castilian Andalusia, led by the Islamic kingdom of Granada together with the faith-warriors who poured into Spain from the North African Marinid empire. The early chronology of the general war can seem muddled, until chronicles and charters are pieced together into a plausible interpretation. On the Arago-Catalan side the modern historian Ferran Soldevila has given us a reasonable general picture, though his range of dates for outbreak of the war is impossibly wide—as some time between 1261 and 1264. The historian Antonio Ballesteros, the classic older researcher on Alfonso X, inclined to choose the date 1264. The best short account by a contemporary historian now from the Castilian side is by Joseph O'Callaghan, especially in interpreting the chronicle data. Larger narratives are only two: the small volume in 1967 by Juan Torres Fontes on *The Reconquest of Murcia in 1266 by James the Conqueror*, and the survey in 1997 by Josep David Garrido i Valls on *James I and the Kingdom of Murcia*. To these slender resources the financing and provisioning charters gathered below and the king's own memoirs can bring added clarity. The sudden rebellion must have required a previous period of secret activity, with extensive networking and planning; O'Callaghan notes, for example, that three hundred light cavalry for the war arrived from North Africa in late 1263. He sets the attendant rebellion of Mudejars or Muslims living under the Christians as bursting out between April 29 and June 5 in 1264, probably in May 1264. Torres Fontes has the war arrive between May 20 and June 5 but closer to June 5.¹¹

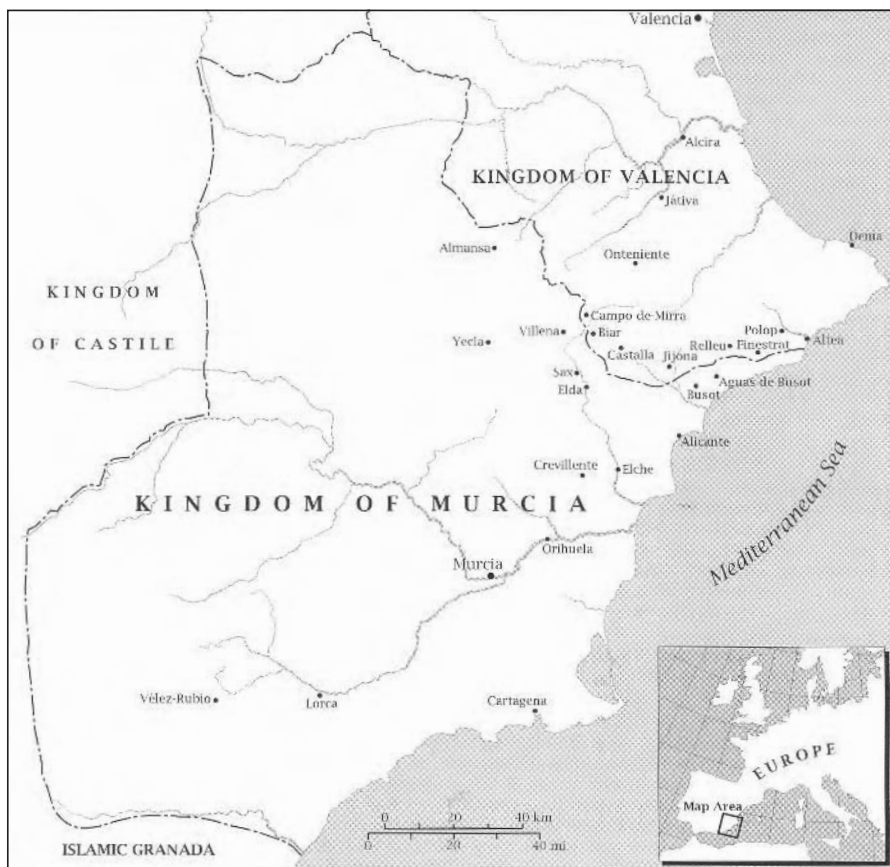
¹¹ J.F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, (Philadelphia

On 20 June 1264 Alfonso formally notified his bishop of Cuenca about the revolt and its enveloping war, and asked him to preach a crusade, relying on an open-ended provisional permission for a crusade from Popes Innocent IV (1243–1254) and Alexander IV (1254–1261), given some years before.¹² Alfonso struck back militarily that same summer on the Granada plain. He also appealed for military assistance from James's kingdom. Alfonso also formally requested the new pope Clement IV to confirm a full new crusade with its recruiting privileges and financial support. The pope obliged after a half-year's delay. On 26 March 1265 Clement summarized the information Alfonso had forwarded about the crisis: "Behold! Suddenly and unexpectedly Saracens from Africa in irresistible hordes" had invaded Castile. The pope directed Archbishop Ramón of Seville to preach not only "in the kingdoms of Spain" but also in the city-states of Genoa and Pisa, presumably for their naval potential.

King James had similarly appealed for a separate papal crusade, granted enthusiastically on 23 May 1265. James's metropolitan of Tarragona Archbishop Benet de Rocabertí and Bishop Andreu Albalat of Valencia received a mandate to preach as papal legates over Aragon, Valencia, the Balearics, the entire ecclesiastical province of Tarragona, and indeed over "all the lands of the king's country" against that "multitude convened out of Africa" and against the rebel

1993) pp. 180–197. F. Soldevila, *Pere el Gran*, 2 parts in 4 vols. (Barcelona 1950–1962); facsimile edn. with index, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1995); ch. 7, "La conquesta de Murcia", III, pp. 117–142. Useful also is M. González Jiménez, *Alfonso X el Sabio 1252–1284*, (Palencia 1993) ch. 4, "La revuelta mudéjar", pp. 69–92. Still valuable is A. Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, especially in the indexed commemorative edition (Barcelona [1963] 1984), pp. 367–376, 1082–1089. The two books noted above, respectively in Castilian and Catalan, are J. Torres Fontes, *La reconquista de Murcia en 1266 por Jaime I de Aragón*, (Murcia 1967) especially pp. 110–166; and J.D. Garrido i Valls, *Jaume I i el regne de Múrcia*, (Murcia 1999) ch. 3 on "La revolta mudéjar", and ch. 4 on King James's war. For the Islamic Murcian background see E. Molina López, "Murcia y el levante español en el siglo XIII (1224–1266)", unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of Granada, 1978); and the several articles drawn from it, such as his "El 'Sharq al-Andalus' en el siglo XIII: aspectos políticos y sociales", *Instituto de estudios alicantinos: revista de investigación y ensayos* 37, (1982) pp. 7–31. From the Arago-Catalan perspective see too the chronological data in J. Miret i Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I "El Conqueridor"*, (Barcelona 1918). For some reflections on the Catalan chronicles see L. Rubio García, *La corona de Aragón en la reconquista de Murcia*, (Murcia 1989) ch. 1.

¹² *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, (ed.) M. González Jiménez, (Seville 1991) doc. 286 (20 June 1264) enclosing copies of crusade letters from Innocent IV (25 May 1246) and Alexander IV (27 August 1259).



The Crusade Against Murcia, 1266
Kingdom of Murcia with Alicante

Muslims of Spain. The pope saluted “James, illustrious king of the Aragonese, a man [who was] a warrior from his youth”, the glory of his people, “a lion in his works”. The pope allowed the king’s subjects to gain the crusade indulgences not only by going on campaign but also by helping finance the crusade “according to their strength” or by “contributing their own ships and helping to build them”. In light of the worsening situation in Castile, the pope stopped all preaching there for the Holy Land crusade. In June 1265 he confirmed a supplementary preaching network for Alfonso over the Spanish kingdoms, Genoa, and Pisa, under the Franciscan Juan Martínez.

On 18 July 1265 the pope ordered the metropolitan of Tarragona and the bishop of Valencia to divert a tenth of all clerical income in the realms of King James to the Murcian crusade. On September 2, Rome directed the bishop of Barcelona Arnau de Gurb to collect for two years all vacant benefice revenues in the Barcelona diocese for James’s military needs. Early next year, as the war came to an end, Clement arranged for James to keep receiving the three-year general grant of money since he was “burdened with the many expenses that are required in military actions”. (As late as May 1267, with fighting now over, the pope made the same arrangement for Castile, at Alfonso’s “petition”). A final letter in that series, on 5 July 1266, had hailed James as a hero of Christendom “who has conquered Murcia, famous enough among other cities” and has returned it to Alfonso. Since Granada continued to threaten Castile, Alfonso’s letter of congratulation did not come until 23 October 1267.¹³

The Murcian Crusade: King James’s Own Account

In his own memoirs, in eighty chapters written up years later, James recalled when he had first heard about how the ruler of Granada

¹³ *Documentos de Clemente IV (1265–1268) referentes a España*, (ed.) S. Domínguez Sánchez, (León 1996) doc. 4 (23 March 1265), doc. 5 (26 March 1265), doc. 10 (31 March 1265), doc. 20 (23 May 1265), doc. 25 (16 June 1265), doc. 31 (22 June 1265), doc. 32 (24 June 1265), doc. 33 (24 July 1265), doc. 35 (6 July 1265), doc. 37 (18 July 1265), doc. 41 (13 August 1265), doc. 43 (2 September 1265), doc. 47 (30 September 1265), doc. 57 (17 February 1266), doc. 61 (14 April 1266), doc. 74 (5 July 1266), doc. 130 (25 May 1267), doc. 151 (23 October 1267).

had brought “the Moors from beyond the sea”, how the king of Castile had “lost within three weeks three hundred cities and large towns and castles”, and how Alfonso and James himself were on the verge of losing their many conquests. James describes how his daughter, Alfonso’s queen, wrote pathetic letters imploring his help. James convened a strenuous parliament (*cortes*) of the Aragonese at Zaragoza in late November 1264 but failed to win financial aid or much participation for his bid to help the disliked Castilians. A corresponding *corts* of the Catalans at Barcelona in July 1264, however, had won full backing, including a rare aid called *bovatge* on all livestock and chattels, added to the usual feudal obligations owed by barons and their vassals. James now convoked a rendezvous of his host at Monzón, patched up truces with fractious barons, and “went off with those I was able to gather”, via Aragonese Zaragoza and Teruel to a larger rendezvous down in Valencia city. At both Teruel and Valencia he arranged to sweep up all the surplus wheat, barley, and wine from the general populace.¹⁴

While establishing his rear-depot reserves and rallying support from his subjects, King James complained that “because I was abandoned by all the other [regions of the realms]”, he counted mostly on the Valencians. “I trusted in them more than in any others for help in assisting the king of Castile”.¹⁵ Among his supplies he does note as a gift, from the townsmen of Teruel in Aragon on Valencia’s border, 3000 loads of grain (1,000 of wheat and 2,000 of barley); 20,000 sheep and 2,000 cows; with an offer to loan James whatever else might be needed.¹⁶ A similar haul came early from Valencia city,

¹⁴ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 378 to 458 on the Murcian war; quotes from c. 378, 406; 432, 443 (numbers); 424, 434 (tactics). Many barons are mentioned by name. Miret, *Itinerari*, p. 363 (Zaragoza *cortes*), pp. 354–355 (July in Barcelona). Soldevila suggests that the Catalan *corts* began in July and was reopened or concluded in November (*Quatre cròniques*, pp. 345–346). The *bovatge* (Latin *bovaticum*) was originally an impost of Pyrenean Catalonia that emerged in the early twelfth century, assessed on “pairs [teams] of oxen” in exchange for the promise of the local count or prelate not to devalue the coinage. See T.N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon (c. A.D. 1000–c. 1225)*, (Oxford 1979) pp. 61, 88–91, 199–200; F. Soldevila, “À propòsit del servei del bovatge”, *Anuario de estudios medievales* 1, (1964) pp. 573–578.

¹⁵ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 408: “haviem major esperança en ells que ens ajudassen, en guisa que nós poguéssim ajudar al rei de Castella . . . que en neguns altres, per ço car de tots los altres de nostra terra nos érem deseixits pus en València érem”.

¹⁶ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 409: “emprestaremos tres milia cargas de pan, mil de trigo, e dos milia d’ordio, veinte milia carneros, et tres milia vacas”.

plus a loan from the local merchants. (James later notes that 2,000 mules loaded with grain would last a city like Murcia only ten days, with at least 200 loads consumed each day).

Out of 2,000 knights summoned from Teruel, only 600 at first responded. Later in the campaign King James appears on a battlefield with 300 knights, while a reserve of 300 more remained at his Orihuela base with 200 mercenary special forces (infantry *almogàvers*). James also mentions a unit of 120 Tortosan crossbowmen. A variety of seamen served the naval and merchant marine contingents, fighting also on land. The forces of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Santiago were present during the war, and the bishop of Barcelona Arnau de Gurb played a notable role. When James withdrew finally from Murcia he tells us with some exaggeration, he settled a garrison of 10,000 “men-at-arms”, plus a flying patrol of a hundred knights at Alicante and seventy more at Biar and Onteniente. James gives no information on the other units in his host, such as municipal contingents or foreign crusaders.

One episode James omits from his king-centered memoirs is the double campaign by his warrior son Peter (later to rule as King Peter the Great). Embroiled in baronial wars and challenges, and having delayed too long in opening a second front at Murcia to encourage Alfonso in the Granadan war, James sent Peter on a diversionary campaign in spring 1265 to the very walls of Murcia city, burning villages, destroying crops and foodstuffs and carrying off many prisoners. After Peter's return to Valencia city to resupply and regroup, he was off again on extensive raids, until the main war could begin. This initiative unbalanced the enemy forces and reassured Alfonso while the royal host arranged its own financing and coalesced for action. The historian Soldevila locates this first invasion by Peter as in April into June 1265; charters put Peter at Valencia on 12 and 16 April 1265, at Alicante in Murcia on 25 April 1265, at Orihuela in Murcia on 19 June, and back at Valencia on 26 June 1265. Peter led a second such expedition south from Valencia on 13 July 1265. In the fall of that year he accompanied King James's major host in the final great struggle. As early as 30 September 1265 Pope Clement IV had received ample notice of the prince's exploits and congratulated him before Christendom for having won “divine favor and praise among men” by his fighting over “the parts of Murcia” and by oppressing the enemy with “a deficiency of food”. He urges Peter to persevere “as a champion [*pugil*] of

Christ” in a task so well begun. Since King James led his army out of Valencia toward Murcia in November 1265, the pope’s letter may put Peter’s campaign in spring 1265 or may encompass a wider range of raiding from early summer of 1264 through early fall of 1265.¹⁷

Two Catalan memoirists of that century, Ramon Muntaner and Bernat Desclot, devote generous space to Prince Peter’s exploits. Desclot tells how Peter’s first or reconnoitering raid swept through Murcia, and how he mounted a more serious campaign before accompanying his father on the main invasion “with all the hosts of Catalonia and of the kingdom of Valencia”. During the main and final siege, Desclot claims that the Muslims of Murcia city were “so desperate with hunger that they ate the dogs and cats”.¹⁸ Muntaner tells much the same story, with Peter leading barons, infantry, *almogàvers* (mercenary special forces), and “men of the sea” to overrun the land and lay it waste in a bewildering series of raids. The king amassed a great host “by land and by sea, and so held the sea that his hosts were supplied with food”.¹⁹ The two authors portray a war sustained by far-ranging foraging but more significantly by the sea lanes and ports flanking the royal forces.

In November 1265 King James led his mighty host from Valencia city down to Játiva in the southern mountains, then to Biar at the extreme southwest of the Valencian kingdom, a progress apparently designed to overawe the quiescent Mudejar majority in those parts. In rapid order he recounts the surrenders of Villena, Elda, and Petrer, and his rallying of forces at the major port of Alicante on the southern coast, before taking Elche. By late December he was in Castilian-held Orihuela. On December 31 James had a famous

¹⁷ *Documentos de Clemente IV*, doc. 47 (30 September 1265). Soldevila, *Pere el Gran*, I, pp. 123–130. Some of our victualing documents below pertain to these first two campaigns by Peter rather than to King James. Garrido puts Peter’s first invasion in March 1265 and his second in June 1265 (*Jaume I i Múrcia*, pp. 77–78).

¹⁸ Bernat Desclot (late thirteenth century), *Llibre del rei En Pere*, in Soldevila *Cròniques*, c. 65: “ab totes les hosts de Catalunya e del regne de València”; “sí destrets de fam que els cans e els gats menjaven”.

¹⁹ Ramon Muntaner (1265–1336), *Crònica*, in Soldevila, *Cròniques*, c. 13: “per mar e per terra, e per ço tenc la mar, que les sues hosts fossen bastades de viandes”; Catalan, Aragonese, and Valencian knights, plus municipal forces and “homes de mar e almogàvers, per mar e per terra, correc tot lo regne”. The memoirs of Muntaner devote chapters 10 and 13–17 to the Murcian war but confusingly conflate it with a later Mudejar revolt.

meeting with Alfonso at Alcaraz. In early January 1266 James laid siege to Murcia city, traditionally forcing its surrender early in February. After a period of administrative consolidation and extensive land grants to Christians, James left Murcia in early April for Valencia and the north. The king tells us that he had coerced and negotiated the surrenders of 28 castles from Lorca down to Murcia. During his campaign against Elche, he welcomed news that his royal galleys had “brought as prizes two [Muslim] ships loaded with grain” worth 50,000 sous, a brief glimpse of the naval component of his provisioning.²⁰

During his account of the war, King James offers some insight into his tactics. He instructed his combat soldiers on the absolute need for discipline, obedience and control. He advised that a king should be stationed at the rear in battle, but that he should take the lead in making camp so as to place his units flexibly. He describes one action for which he formed up his light cavalry in the van to attack the fast light horse of the enemy, holding a hundred heavily armored knights in reserve to descend upon the Muslims’ 800 cavalry and 2,000 foot after that first blow. Trumpet calls controlled the action. Meanwhile smaller bands of knights harassed the land.²¹

By the end of the Murcian crusade the Christians had outrun their supplies, so that the barons were badgering the king to leave abruptly, pleading “the great expense here” and the ruinous expense ahead. James was determined to remain until a proper transfer could be made to Alfonso; James says that consequently “I borrowed money from merchants I found at Alicante” to buy provisions for five months. He also set up proper garrisons at Alicante, Biar, Onteniente, and Murcia city.²² Meanwhile Alfonso himself had mounted a summer campaign in Andalusia, taking Jérez around October 1266, with other towns falling in late October or early November. Though some Castilian forces had been involved in the Murcian theatre, Alfonso did not have the leisure to join them. On the eve of Alfonso’s final campaign against Granada, with Castilian crusaders heading south, dissension in the Muslim camp pushed Ibn al-Aḥmar to negotiate

²⁰ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 410–414, 434–440, 452; 419: “aduixeren-nos dues navetes carregades de gra que valien bé cinquanta mil·lia sous”. On dates of siege and capitulation see below, note 65 and text.

²¹ *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 424, 434, 436–440.

²² *Llibre dels feïts*, c. 451, 455.

peace and a vassalage status under Alfonso in June 1267. The chronicler Ramon Muntaner adds a final note to King James's campaign: the king sent numerous slaves from his victories as gifts to the pope, cardinals, the emperor, the French king and queen, and others.²³ Though troubles and warfare would erupt again soon on both the Andalusian and Valencian frontiers, the systematic countercrusade and the Murcian-Andalusian revolt had now ended.

View from the Registers: Ships, Castles, and Loans

The register volumes of outgoing correspondence and letters in the crown archives at Barcelona are few for King James's reign, their paper holed and damp damaged, their texts shriveled into a notarial shorthand intended for rare reference, their content a randomly surviving jumble on every kind of crown business. Some two dozen clues for or echoes of the Murcian war nevertheless glint here and can be gleaned, most having to do with finance and logistics. These glimpses emerge chronologically during the years in and around the war. Since those noted here were drawn from a project of transcribing materials relevant to the Valencian kingdom, other such documents may still lurk in the documentation for other regions or in later Valencian materials with retroflective references. Not all documents from the royal chancery found their way into the registers, nor did most documents relevant to the Murcian war issue from that chancery. But the run of royal issues here are the most promising single mine of references to the logistics of that war.²⁴

Active forces immediately available when war erupted were naval, and counter hostilities probably began with corsair activity at sea. King James had no other crusading activities in hand, having refused to join Alfonso in his mid-1260 raid on Salā on the Atlantic coast of North Africa, and having put aside some premature planning for a crusade in 1260 "to defend the Holy Land against the Tartar peo-

²³ Muntaner, *Crònica*, c. 13: "los quals catius e catives . . . qui al papa, qui als cardenals . . . e a l'emperador Frederic e al rei de França e a comtes e a barons amics seus . . .".

²⁴ For the history, nature, present disposition, script, condition of paper, and other details about the registers see R.I. Burns S.J., *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia*, (Princeton 1985) volume one of his series *Diplomatarium regni Valencie*, especially chaps. 5, 10, 24.

ple". Some three years later, corsair projects and ordinary naval construction are particularly visible in James's ports in 1264, just as the Murcian war caught him by surprise; these previous preparations were timely for Murcia. Thus on 4 February 1264 James had ordered a fleet [*estoleum*] to be armed under royal command. At the same time he allowed the bishop at Barcelona to prepare an episcopal war galley. The bishop demanded and got from James a guarantee of at least one year's warfare without truce with Muslims, independent service outside the king's fleet, and the right to retain all plunder for himself without any share to the crown. On March 2 King James reveals a similar arrangement with the city of Barcelona, involving two galleys and waiving coastal taxes and crown tribute. On 6 February 1264 the king appointed his bastard son Pere Ferrandis d'Hixar admiral of the royal fleet to go against the Muslims. The probable chronology of the Murcian war suggests that these naval developments took place before the Mudejar revolt and its allied invasion.²⁵

In a document of 11 May 1264 James describes "a fleet [*armamentum*] that We are ordering made against the Saracens this year"; since the notice falls within O'Callaghan's dating for the start of the war as between April and June, this would seem to be an early response to that news.²⁶ On May 26 James acknowledges to Adán de Paterna, one of his main financiers, a debt of 3,000 Valencian sous "which you lent Us for purchasing ship's fittings [*xàrxia* in Catalan/Latin] and other things needed for equipping Our galley

²⁵ Miret, *Itinerari*, 303–304 (Tartars), 347 (bishop), 348 (admiral; Barcelona galleys). The February 4 letter to the bishop read: "quod galea quam vos armaturi estis contra sarracenos ad instantiam et preces nostras, non teneatur esse in conserva aliarum galearum quas contra sarracenos fieri mandavimus et armari nisi quando vos placuerit, promittens vobis nichilominus quod a proximo venturo festo Sancti Andree ad unum annum nos treugas sarracenis non dabimus nec pacto cum eis faciemus modo aliquo sive causa, et interim dicta galea possit forofacere sarracenis quibuscumque modo poterit, et totum lucrum quod interim ipsa galea per se ipsam faciet non existens in estoleo aliarum galearum sit vestrum ad vestras omnimodas voluntates". Several documents at this time relate to planned voyages "ad partes transmarinas" but apparently refer to Sicily and Prince Pere's marriage (ibid., 340 [16 June 1263]; cf. 311 [21 February 1261]).

²⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 171 (11 May 1264): "ratione cuiusdam homicidii"; "quia habemus te necessarium in presenti armamento quod contra Sarracenos mandamus fieri in hoc anno, et volumus quod tu vadas personaliter in hoc armamento". Though *armamenta* in its most general sense meant fittings or instrumental furnishings, its classic meaning is ship's tackle and it commonly applies to naval outfitting.

that We are now causing to be built in Valencia [city]”.²⁷ On May 26 also Arnau de Font, “a citizen of Valencia”, lent the king 3,000 sous to outfit a galley. With the Muslim invasion in full flower, on 27 July 1264 King James acknowledged a debt of 5,970 sous to his Barcelona bailiffs “for building Our galley that We ordered you to have made in Barcelona with sails and with rigging of hemp”. When Barcelonans lent money for this enterprise, the king on August 3 promised reimbursal.²⁸

On May 30 military activity on land included strengthening of the castle at Biar, the defensive linchpin of Valencia’s southwest corner; the king was reimbursing the knight Arnau de Mon(t)só for “the work on the tower at Biar and all the expense you had in it”. Monsó was to continue garrisoning and administering the castle while taking repayment from its revenues.²⁹ At this point the crown amicably concluded in June 1264 a property dispute with the Mudejar dynasty at Tárbená in Valencia, specifically with its *qā’id* Muḥammad. One is inclined to see in this business a pacifying maneuver on the part of the embattled king.³⁰ The castle policy of King James in his Murcian war on behalf of Alfonso X is unambiguous in a charter of 1 July 1264. James orders garrisoning of several castles in southern Valencia in a program “up until the war of the king of Castile and the [Muslim] king of Granada is thoroughly finished”. The bastard son of King James, Pere Ferrandis d’Híxar, must put thirty knights into Cocentaina castle, twenty into Relleu castle, six into Ibi castle, and six into Bocairente castle, each knight presumably with his retinue of some four to eight esquires, backed by the local militia.³¹ On 7 July a business note about Gauter de Roma and his castles of Torres Torres and Serra in Valencia, as collateral for a loan on the king’s behalf, seems to connect with the crown’s war preparations.³²

²⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 55 (26 May 1264): “quos nobis accommodavi[stis] ad emendum xarxiam et alia necessaria ad opus galee nostre, quam nunc fieri facimus in Valencia”.

²⁸ ACA same date: “emendum xarxiam et alia necessaria ad opus galee nostre”. Miret, *Itinerari*, p. 355: “cum velis et exarcia de canem”; 356, August 3 reimbursal.

²⁹ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 55v (30 May 1264): “de opere turris de Biar, et de tota missione quam in ea fecistis”.

³⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fols. 188r and v (both 17 June 1264), with a “carta guidatici sub forma communi” to Muḥammad the *qā’id* of Tárbená.

³¹ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 193 v (1 July 1264): “tam diu videlicet quousque guerra regis Castelle et regis Granate penitus sit finita”.

³² ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 196 (7 July 1264): “super castris vestris de Torres Torres et de Serra ad redimenda ipsa castra et ad alia que necessaria sunt vobis”.

A full call to war on the financial front came on 10 July 1264. In it King James granted “to all the people of Aragon and Catalonia and also of the kingdom of Valencia, both Christians and Jews, [and] people both of the cities [and] towns as well as others, that they may legally lend their money to Our venerable and beloved Guiu de La Guespa, the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta, just as they have arranged with him on [as collateral] the towns of the [Order of] the Hospital of St. John, which are under our dominion, or on the [towns’] revenues and income: to support the expedition that the said castellan is about to make with Us with the largest possible number of knights, against the king of [Islamic] Granada and other enemies of the Christian faith”. The crown will guarantee these war loans, following “the contracts drawn between them and the said castellan”; and James “will work signally” to see that they “recover” all their loans. Here whole populations are involved in the profitable war loans, including the Jewish community. The interest, allowed by civil law, would have been temptingly high for such a short-term investment, and the crown would have retired such loans as soon as more normal times returned.³³

On 13 July 1264 Arnau de Font is back again, this time in connection with a loan of 4,000 Valencian sous “which you have [just] now lent us for outfitting [*ad opus*] the galleys We have caused to be made in Valencia”, indicating that a fleet or flotilla had recently been constructed. Arnau was to recover the loan from royal revenues on “the cauldron of the dyeworks” of Valencia city, on the city’s Moorish quarter, and on its “new Jewry”.³⁴ A few days later the chancery notary Pere de Capellades received a contract to garrison the Valencian castle of Onda, installing twenty knights or men-at-arms at a stipend of 150 sous annually for each.³⁵ Recovery of this debt of 3,000 sous was assigned on all royal revenues from Onda’s castle, town, and region. An ambiguous charter went out on the following day to one Alfonso of Murcia, licensing him to make a settlement at “your village at Enova: twelve Saracens, who may

³³ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 196 (10 July 1264): “ad opus viaticii [= viatici] quod nunc facturus est nobiscum dictus castellanus cum maxima militum quantitatem [= quantitate] contra regem Granate et alios inimicos fidei christiane”.

³⁴ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 60v (13 July 1264): “ad opus galaiaarum quas fieri fecimus in Valencia . . . in moraria et in iudaria Valencie nova”. Cf. Arnau above in note 28.

³⁵ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 61v (21 July 1264): “in custodia castri de Onda viginti homines”.

work in that village".³⁶ The connection with Murcia and the privilege format suggest that this village lord and perhaps the dozen Muslim families are in some way helping the crown's crusade. At the same time the Barcelona notable Vidal de Sarrià received instructions "to keep fifteen men from now on in the garrison of the castle of Confrides that you hold for Us, [along] with those who are already there"; the crown would pay "a salary for them, just as We give to other men of the other castles that are in those parts".³⁷ This *salarium*, presumably a total of 2,250 sous for Confrides, was to come from that castle's revenues.

View from the Registers: Subject Moors

On July 25 conciliatory letters went out to reassure Mudejar communities at Domeño, Chulilla, (Castell)montán, Liria, and Chelva with Tuéjar, establishing each community under the king's safeguard. No one "may dare invade, seize, detain, obstruct, strike down, retaliate against, or aggravate you for any reason", and "We shall not remove you even for the lord pope or for any person".³⁸ Obviously these letters to subject Muslims relate to the Murcian war or to the allied Mudejar unrest in frontier Valencia, though their exact import escapes us now. Entering August, King James notes that "We obliged you, the worthy men of Valencia [city], [to contribute] in the business of a loan for outfitting [*ad opus*] galleys"; he arranges for repayment through his bailiff.³⁹ Two days later on August 5, the king addresses "his faithful corsairs and shipowners [*armatores*], both in galleys and in other ships large and small disposed throughout the kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia and through all Catalonia". He admonishes them to respect the persons and property of his Balearics subjects and "to do no violence, force, or rapine against the inhab-

³⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 203 (22 July 1264): "XII Sarracenos qui in ipsa alcheria laborent . . . [et] recipimus de presenti sub nostra protectione, defencione, et guidatica [= guidatico] speciali". On the *guidaticum* see note 56.

³⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 60 (23 July 1264): "quindecim homines in custodia castri . . . cum illis qui iam sunt ibi".

³⁸ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 204v (25 July 1264): "et vos inde non removebimus eciam pro domino papa nec pro aliqua persona".

³⁹ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 62v (3 August 1264): "super facto mutui ad opus galearum quod faciemus vos habere".

itants". This broadly cast warning reveals something of the maritime bustle and practical chaos attendant upon the war preparations. And in the context of the wider war against Muslims, it seems protective particularly of Mudejar shipping and friendly Muslims.⁴⁰

Early the next month the king gives to Muḥammad, a castellan or civil governor in the Mudejar community of Valencia, the town of Ayot or Ayalt "in the district of Castell [de Castells]" not far from Tárbenā. A companion charter conveys to Muḥammad "the entire castle of Tárbenā completely, with its villages, districts, and appurtenances", and with all its rights in perpetuity. Muḥammad will hold half the attendant revenues as a crown fief, the king holding the other half. Muḥammad can also "deduct from the [total] gross the appropriate expenses for the work of guarding the said castle".⁴¹ Relating this gift to the preparatory stages of the Murcian war is a companion document awarding Muḥammad an amnesty from "all civil and criminal prosecution that We would be able to bring against your property because (as We were given to know) you conspired and acted against Us".⁴² Among the flurry of crown letters affecting the king's Mudejars, two more items of 6 November 1264 clarify the legal jurisdictions over them. To the Cocentaina Muslim community, and separately to Játiva (and probably to other Mudejar units whose copies do not now survive), the king proclaims that "the Saracen who will be your *qā'id* [civil governor] is to hear all civil cases that occur among you, and decide according to your Sunna" or Islamic jurisprudence. Criminal cases are removed from the king's justiciar and given to the king's bailiff, again "according to your Sunna".⁴³

⁴⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 62v (5 August 1264): "fidelibus suis universis cursariis et armatoribus tam in galeis quam in aliis lignis magnis sive parvis"; "nullam violenciam, forciam, seu rapinam aliquam".

⁴¹ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 236 (5 November 1264): "Mahomet et vestris in perpetuum". On the same date and folio: "alcaydo Mahomet et vestris totum castrum integrum de Tarbana cum alqueriis, terminis, et pertinenciis suis . . . deducta inde competenti missione ad opus dicti castri de communi". Cf. above on Muḥammad, note 30.

⁴² ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 236v (5 November 1264): "omnem demandam, et omnem penam civilem et criminalem [quia] . . . vos aliqua procurrassse et fecisse contra nos".

⁴³ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 236, both as 6 November 1264: "Sarracenis ravalli Cocentanie . . . et ille Sarracenus qui cadit fuerit audiat omnes causas civiles que inter vos fuerit". The second is to "Sarracenis ravalli Xative".

View from the Registers: Supply Accounts

Of the financial charters from this period of late 1264, one looks suspiciously like an accounting for military supplies on the eve of the king's campaign in Murcia. In it King James approves an audit of his functionary "Astruc, Jew of Tortosa", covering both his collections and his disbursements for the king, probably over the past year. James has now assumed a new debt to Astruc for "200 cafises of barley and 133 cafises of wheat, at the measure of Tortosa, and 10,000 quarters of wine likewise at the measure of Tortosa". The king promises to accept the price that the wheat, barley, and wine "will be worth in Tortosa on the day you transfer the aforesaid items to Us in Valencia". Thus the wholesale quantities gathering at the port of Tortosa, just above the northern border of the kingdom of Valencia, were bound for the strategic port of Valencia city, soon to be the king's staging area for the Murcian war. The character of the supplies—wheat, barley, and wine—reflects the accounts of military provisioning in King James's many other campaigns, where those three items were the staples. Astruc had also advanced the king in these transactions the sum of 21,307 sous.

Help also came at this time from King James's realms in Occitania or Southern France. During a long stay in Perpignan from September 8 to 23 in 1264 he received from Bishop Berenguer de Cantallops and his cathedral chapter of Elne (basically Roussillon) a voluntary gift of 17,000 sous. King James himself on 12 November 1264 conveyed to his warrior son James "absolutely all Our revenues and income that We receive and ought to receive" in the city and district of the king's natal Montpellier, all to go "in support of those armies that We propose to assemble against the Saracens". A further gift came that day from the Count of Ampurias "to help in the war We propose to make against the Saracens".⁴⁴

⁴⁴ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 67 (7 November 1264): "Astrugus Iudeus Dertuse . . . rectum et legale computum de omnibus receptionibus . . . et de omnibus eciam datis, missionibus, et expensis . . . ad mensuram Dertuse," a long and detailed settlement. The Montpellier transfer is *ibid.*, reg. canc. 13, fol. 241 (12 November 1264): "heredi Maiorice et Montispessulani, Rossiliensis, Ceritanie, ac Confluentis, in subsidium istorum exercituum que facere proponimus contra Sarracenos, omnes omnino redditus et exitus nostros . . . per unum annum continuum et completum". The Ampurias gift is ACA, reg. canc. 13., fol. 243v (12 November 1264): "in auxilium guerre quod contra Sarracenos proponimus habere". The Elne gift is in Miret, *Itinerari*, p. 358 (21 September 1264).

As early as February 7 in the new year 1265, in a form letter that represents a genre, King James was disbursing 10,000 sueldos of Jaca to the magnate Ramon de Montcada "by reason of the service that you are going to do Us against the king of Granada". Ramon was to offset the huge sum by taking over Fraga castle and its revenues. Some weeks now go by with no echo of the Murcian affair in the registers' Valencian entries. Then on 16 April 1265 the king's son Peter, as vicegerent for the Valencian kingdom and in charge of a preliminary major incursion into Islamic Murcia, recognizes a debt to Guillem de Plana, his bailiff of Burriana, of 11,480 sous and four pence. This grand sum "you lent Us voluntarily at Valencia [city] in money, cloth, and foodstuffs for the support of Our household, when we went to [campaign in] Murcia". The phrase "quando ivimus apud Murciam" can translate into an immediately past staging and positioning.⁴⁵

Several routine audits of detailed reports by tax collectors in July 1265 contain no explicit references to the Murcian project, nor do the quantities of victuals recall military patterns. Businesslike revenue collections and lists of this kind, however, would not be expected to incorporate such larger concerns. One list involves payments to "a Saracen of Beniopa," to "al-Azraq the carpenter", repairs on "the tower of the king", and waivers of taxes to the Beniopa Mudejar community; these are surely just routine small transactions.⁴⁶ A supporting document for that audit is another matter; in it Prince Peter acknowledges a debt to the financier Adán de Paterna of the considerable sum of 7,105 sous "which you voluntarily loaned to Us at Valencia in cash and foodstuffs [*victualia*], for the support of Our household".⁴⁷ This has the ring of a supply contract for the war.

The war appears explicitly again in a charter issued the next day, 6 July 1265, recognizing the king's debt to "Our noble and beloved Guillem de Castellnou of 10,000 sous of Melgueil [in southern France]

⁴⁵ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 33v (16 April 1265): "mutuastis apud Valenciam in denariis, pannis, et victualibus ad opus familie nostre quando ivimus ad Murciam; item mille solidos eiusdem monete" for his recompense. For Moncada see reg. canc. 14, fol. 69v (7 February [1264] 1265): "ratione servicii quod contra regem Granate nobis facturi estis".

⁴⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fols. 37–38 (2 July 1265): "Item an Talpha, Sarray de Beniopa . . . item an Aladrach fuster . . . item a adobar les cases de la torre del rey".

⁴⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 32v (5 July 1265): "apud Valenciam in denariis et victualibus ad opus familie nostre".

which We are giving you on account of the service you did and will do in the present army [against the] Saracens".⁴⁸ This was the powerful Viscount of Castellnou; and the army described as already functioning in the field, with more action projected, would have been the column led deeply into Murcia by the prince-heir Peter in spring and summer of 1265. The next day Peter committed himself to a debt of one thousand Valencian sous "for three mules that We bought from you" the sum to be recovered from "those three thousand sous" the crown received from Valencia's money exchange. Those expensive mules must thus have cost over 333 sous apiece, and may have been gifts during the war.⁴⁹ That was certainly the case with the purchase at the same time "of a certain light horse [Catalan *rossí*] that We bought from you and gave to Berenguer de la Porta as recompense for a certain horse We received from him at Alicante".⁵⁰ This document looks back from July 10 to an episode involving the prince within the war zone.

That same day the prince settled accounts for 900 sous worth of cheese from Zaragoza; 800 sous for rams; 150 cafises of barley at a total of 1,500 sous; 2,163 sous for "cloth and cash"; 1,259 sous in a loan; 1,000 sous for 600 quarters of wine; 314 sous as part payment for a horse; 64 sous "for the cloth of Pere de Forès"; 89 sous for more cloth as a gift; 96 sous for the luxury cloth "green Persian" to make a tunic for the prince; 50 sous for silk for "the banner and the slash-linings of the lord prince"; 48 sous "for apparel and expenses"; 300 sous for a light horse; 436 sous (145 besants) for flour "from the brother of En Tomàs at Alicante" in Murcia; 210 sous for cloth; 350 sous for a horse the prince gave to Llop de Bolàs at Orihuela in Murcia; 1,000 sous for "labor"; 1,800 sous for 100 cafises of wheat. The grand total of 12,480 sous would seem to have been part of the credit operations of the prince's household while quartered at Alicante and Orihuela on the Murcian campaign.⁵¹ Two

⁴⁸ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 77v (6 July 1265): "nobili et dilecto nostro Guillelmo de Castronovo decem milia solidorum melguriensium quos vobis damus recione servicii . . . in presenti exercitu Sarracenorum".

⁴⁹ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 34v (7 July 1265): "in illis tribus milibus solidorum, quos habemus . . . in tabula Valencie".

⁵⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 33v (10 July 1265): "pro quodam roncino quem a vobis emimus et dedimus Berengario de la Porta . . . apud Alachant".

⁵¹ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 34 (10 July 1265) in Catalan mixed with Latin: "al forment, a comprar dels homens de Çaragossa"; "pro arietibus"; "pro CL kafises

similar accountings on July 12 involved the expected wheat, barley, wine, horses, a good number of mules, and cash, as well as 100 sous for 16 loads of salted meat at 7 pence per pound, 1,500 sous for 300 sheep, and 1,905 sous for a herd of cows.⁵² These three general accountings took place at Valencia, presumably as part of the military buildup. Another memorandum of July 12 records the loan of 3,664 sous worth of supplies from Pere Sanç: 620 quarters of wine, 62 cafises of barley, 50 cafises of wheat, 134 quarters of wine, conger-eels at 200 sous, and “the sheep of Mengot” or Armengot at 800 sous (probably therefore a flock of 160).⁵³

“Crusade,” Militia, Charters Blank and Full

King James has left a curious and important document; its exact date in 1265 is debatable, perhaps July or October. It repays to the merino or fiscal administrator of Huesca in Aragon some 4,562 Jaca sueldos “that you [then?] lent Us in Huesca when We caused the crusade [*croata*] to be preached against the Saracens of Murcia”.⁵⁴ This seems to be the earliest use anywhere in the king’s registers of the actual word “crusade,” a novel designation that came into vogue

d’ordi”; “en draps e en diners”; “per DC quarters de vin”; “per drap de presset vert”; “per seda . . . a la severa e a les trepes del seyor infant”; “a Alachant del germa d’En Tomas”; “el seyor infant se pres d’el a Oriola”.

⁵² ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 35, fol. 32v, and fols. 32v–33, three long series of accounts (12 July 1265); “XVI tocinos de carn salada”.

⁵³ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 33 (12 July 1265): “item per congreos”; “item pro moltonibus Mengoti”.

⁵⁴ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 76v (July/October 1265?): “Recognoscimus et confitemur debere vobis Martino Garçes merino Osce et vestris . . . in denariis quos vobis debebamus, cum albaranis nostris quos a vobis modo recuperavimus in Osca et ipsos fregimus; item debemus vobis duo mille LXVIII solidos minus III denariis quos modo [*sic*] in Osca nobis mutuastis quando predicari fecimus croatam contra Sarracenos Murcie pro missione domus nostre et quitacione familie de tribus diebus et pro datis minutis quas pro nobis fecistis, et sic debemus vobis inter totum III mille DLXII solidos in denariis iaccensibus”. The king then assigns repayment from the church tithes of the Huesca diocese. The sums do not quite jibe with the total. The second *modo* in my transcription has to stand for *tunc*, the notary distracted by the previous *modo*. Though the statement lacks a date, the previous subsequent document was dated at Lérida, 14 July 1265, and the subsequent document has Zaragoza, 27 September 1265, perhaps offering a clue as to the place of this charter in the sequence. The contemporary Ramon Llull would use *croada* for crusade in his Catalan novel *Blanquerna*; the popes in this year 1265 used the traditional *negotium*.

only in the thirteenth century. Here it is lifted out of Catalan and given a Latin shape, instead of the expected Latin *cruciata*. In the original register at the crown archives, some vandal in a spasm of discovery has vigorously underscored the line in which the word appears.

Another curious contribution to our knowledge of crown provisioning comes in a recognition of debt by Prince Peter: "Mateu Babot made this receipt [IOU] on the blank parchments that We left him when We went to [campaign in] Murcia".⁵⁵ These *carte blanche* sheets were more than writing supplies, serving rather as prevalidated blank checks. That Prince Peter left a supply of blank checks with his major notary on leaving for the war helps clarify for us the fiscal routine. At least one other example of a crown parchment "on which nothing was written", carried to Valencia city by the archdeacon of Valencia, secretary to King James, turns up in the registers for 28 May 1265 and seems to relate to the war preparations. During those preparations the king had to cope at home with fractious barons; in signing a truce or safeguard (*guiatge*) to two of them on 31 May 1265 he defines its extension as "up until We shall have returned from the frontier of Murcia and Granada".⁵⁶

A set of accounts dated 20 July 1265 presented to the king by the royal lieutenant of Valencia Ximèn Pere d'Arenós covered "all the expenses and outlay that you with your knights and household incurred in Our service during the eleven months you spent on the Valencian frontier [*frontaria*]". This involved "everything you received on Our behalf throughout that entire time on account of the said service". The total expenses came to 115,640 sous, a massive sum

⁵⁵ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 32r (14 July 1265): "hoc albaranum fecit Matheus Baboti de cartis blanchis quas ei dimisimus quando ivimus Murcie".

⁵⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 271v (28 May 1265): "quandam litteram pergaminu apud Valenciam in qua nichil erat scriptum". For this *guiatge* see A. Huici Miranda in the edition by M.D. Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, 5 vols. to date, (Valencia 1976-) V, 155 (31 May 1265): "tro que seamos tornidos de la frontera de Murcia et de Granada," repeated twice. On the *guiatge* in general see R.I. Burns, S.J. "The *Guidaticum* Safe-Conduct in Medieval Arago-Catalonia: A Mini-Institution for Muslims, Christians and Jews", *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 1, (1995) pp. 51-113. On the confrontation between barons and king, endemic by this time in both Castile and Aragon, and on its causes see J.F. O'Callaghan, "Kings and Lords in Conflict in Thirteenth-Century Castile and Aragon", *Iberia and the Mediterranean World*, II, pp. 117-135.

from which partial payments are here deducted to a total of 45,640. This valuable charter of accounts locates the baron Arenós on campaign in the Murcian war for a previous eleven-month period, beginning therefore at the latest in mid-August 1264 but probably some months earlier.⁵⁷

A stream of charters improving the new Valencian kingdom, settling debts, establishing loans, and the like intervenes here but with no evidence that they relate to the Murcian war. Then on 1 November 1265 a memorandum (*memoria*) assigns 15,000 sous “for the lord king’s departure from Valencia”, 20,000 sous “for the needs of the galleys”; 18,000 “for the needs of the knights on the frontier” to supply 1,500 cafises of oats for one month at 12 sous per cafis; 11,250 sous to supply 4,500 (*ar*)roves or in modern terms 51,759 kilograms; 9,000 sous for wine; 39,000 sous to pay “the Genoese merchants”; and 30,000 “for the castles”. The grand total is 142,250 sous.⁵⁸ This sudden and extensive glimpse of war provisioning in full course has been worth waiting for. In it we see a massive final stockpiling of food and wine, final galley outfitting, the “needs of the knights” on the war frontier, the role of those indefatigable maritime merchants the Genoese, and the final disposition of “the castles”. James’ itinerary does send him out of Valencia in the first week of November, locates him at Játiva further south on November 5 and at Alicante by November 21. Thereafter the royal itinerary tracks James in the war zone through December 1265 and until 2 April 1266, after which he passes two weeks in Valencia city and on to Tortosa, Lérida, Barcelona and the north.⁵⁹

Several audits pass through the records during that crucial period. Then a significant privilege goes to the settlers in Játiva, a strategic node for defending the frontier. Any male in Játiva who can afford a horse worth forty gold pieces, with its armament, will be exempt from taxation.⁶⁰ If the *aureum* meant the gold Alfonsine morabatin,

⁵⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 75 (20 July 1265): “de omnibus expensis et missionibus quas in servicio nostro fecistis cum militibus et familia vestra in undecim mensibus quos in frontaria Valencie fecistis, et eciam de omnibus que recepistis pro nobis racione dicti servicii per totum dictum tempus”.

⁵⁸ ACA, reg. canc. 8, fol. 82v (1 November 1265) in Catalan: “per la exida del seynor rey de Valencia”; “al menester a las galees”; “als cavalers de la frontera per I mes”; “als mercaders Jenoveses”; “als castels”.

⁵⁹ Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, pp. 380–381, 561.

⁶⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 285 (8 November 1265): “equum XL aureorum cum

forty of them totaled 240 sous; if the Josephine mazmodin is meant, the total was 160 sous. Unless some less expensive coin was meant, the value of horse plus armor here seems high. A half-year later, on 18 April 1266, an analogous privilege went to Alcira, further securing the king's frontier. That the Játiva creation of a semi-noble cavalry was part and parcel of the Murcia struggle appears from a companion document issued on 8 November 1265. In gratitude for "the labors and immense expenses" contributed by "each and every" notable and resident of Játiva "in connection with the present war against the Saracens", King James is giving a tax exemption for five years, including waiver of military service and army taxes.⁶¹ The privilege bears striking witness to the previous months and even years of convulsive provisioning and weapons acquisition, and to frontier Játiva's special role in the phenomenon. At the time of this privilege, Játiva had been conquered for less than two decades, established with a Christian constitution for some dozen years, and settled only rather sparsely by Christians. The privilege does not signal an end to the Murcian war, however, since fighting was still going forward. King James therefore added a proviso: "if We shall raise an army or a raiding party" led by James or one of his sons in person, "you are obliged to go with that army campaign or raid", or else pay the usual redemption tax, "whenever and however many times we happen to raise such an army or raid".⁶² Obviously the Murcian crusade was still in full course, with anticipation of campaigns led personally by the ruler extending into a five-year frame.

A loan negotiated on November 8 at Valencia city for 3,494 sous (or in grand total 4,030 sous) may or may not relate directly to the war; the same must be said for the 400 sous paid by Prince Peter for a light horse he "gave to the crossbowman Pere d'Ofegat".⁶³ Similar small loans or credit resolutions are similarly ambiguous: 522

suis armaturis". Sample audits would be reg. canc. 17, fol. 65 (4 November 1265); and another of that date on the same fol.

⁶¹ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 285 (8 November 1265): "considerantes labores et immensas expensas quas vos o[mn]i[um] et singuli probi homines . . . fecistis racione presentis guerre Sarracenorum".

⁶² ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 12v (18 April [1265] 1266): "retinemus . . . [quod] teneantur ire in exercitum et cavalcata[m] cum equo et armis quandocumque et quocienscumque universitas ville vel pars eius ibit in exercitum vel eciam cavalcata[m]".

⁶³ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 77 (8 November 1265); *ibid.*, fol. 38, same date: "emimus et dedimus ballisterio Petro de Offegato". Given "apud Elx" or Elche on the king's military campaign.

sous for 58 cafises of barley; another 50 cafises at 450 sous “for Our needs”; 600 sous left to pay from 1,000 owed to Llop Ochoa; and a debt settlement by which the castle of Agres held as collateral by Pere de Roda was replaced by the future revenues from the salt tax. These documents and others clustered with them are dated from the war zone: one at Orihuela on 27 December 1265, another “in the siege of Murcia” on January 5, and others at the siege for 14 January 1266, 6 February (?), and 14 February. A typical finance/provisioning document at the siege of Murcia was an award or disbursement on January 7 of 1,000 sueldos of Jaca to a knight “for the service you have done for Us in the present army against the Saracens of Murcia and of other places of the same kingdom”, dated in “the siege of Murcia”. Collection was to be taken eventually from the office of *çavalmedina* (a municipal magistrate) in Aragon.⁶⁴

The King at Murcia

The traditional date for Murcia’s surrender has been February 2, almost exactly a month since King James had left his staging area at Orihuela to establish his siege of Murcia. Antonio Ballesteros argues for both February 2, with the king entering Murcia on February 3, and January 31 (to fit the clue of a Sunday in the king’s memoirs). Joaquim Miret i Sans settles for “the first days of February”. Dismissed today is the choice of the latter days of February proposed by the great sixteenth-century archival scholar Jerónimo Zurita. The arguments for early February 1266 rest upon the series of datelines carried by charters of the king at the siege. The king’s and prince’s charters in the registers define their locale as “in the siege of Murcia”, but shift after February 3 to the simple “Murcia”. My own researches however have turned up a business document from James’s son Peter

⁶⁴ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 36v (27 December 1265); reg. canc. 15, fol. 9v (27 December 1265) at Orihuela; reg. canc. 13, fol. 287v (5 January [1265] 1266) “in obsidione Murcie”; reg. canc. 14, fol. 78v (14 January [1265] 1266) “in obsidione Murcie”; ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 79 (6 February ? [1265] 1266); reg. canc. 17, fol. 36v (14 February [1265] 1266) “in obsidione Murcie”. The charter on fol. 79 does not carry an explicit dateline; the reconstruction there should read “Murcie,” not “in obsidione Murcie”. The final entry here is from reg. canc. 14, fol. 78v (7 January [1265] 1266): “pro servicio quod nobis fecistis in isto presenti exercitu contra Sarracenos Murcie et aliorum locorum eiusdem regni”.

dated “in obsidione Murcie” on February 14! This is not likely to be a scribal error; the script itself is quite clear; and the calendar conversion here poses no problem. Perhaps Zurita’s choice of late February should be revisited, and perhaps the simple “Murcia” of some documents should not be interpreted as excluding a siege? A land grant by King James at Murcia on 20 February 1266 takes note of “the mosque that is now by the grace of God the [cathedral] church of the Blessed Mary” in Murcia, suggesting a capitulation between February 15 and 19.⁶⁵

Still at Murcia but not designated as “in the siege of Murcia”, come charters for February 20, February 27 (three charters), March 1 (three charters), and March 4. Further datelines on these documents track the king to Alicante on March 24, March 29, and March 30, before leaving him at Valencia. Crown business of various kinds occasioned these many war charters, but the war itself enters some of them. On 27 February at Murcia King James arranged to settle accounts with “all men of [the kingdom of] Aragon both knights and others who lent money or food supplies to Us in this Our very great need”.⁶⁶ He ordered all crown revenues in Aragon proper to go toward massive repayment; this was to involve verifying documents in hand, drafting new charters, and taking oaths on them. These “large and strenuous projects”, under the royal lieutenant of Valencia, were advertised to every class of functionary (ten are specifically listed) in the kingdom of Aragon by a supporting letter.⁶⁷

On 1 March 1266 at Murcia, James acknowledged a debt of 2,934

⁶⁵ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 36v (14 February [1265] 1266): “confitemur vobis Arnaldo de Romanino baiulo Valencie quod solvistis de mandato nostro Dalmacio de Villarasa draperio Perpiniani DCCCC solidos regalum Valencie” in a cloth purchase for Peter’s wife Constança. The dateline reads: “Datum in obsidione Murcie, XVI kalendas Marcii, anno domini MCCLX quinto”. See Ballesteros, *Alfonso X*, pp. 397, 401; Miret, *Itinerari*, p. 382; O’Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 186; Garrido, *Jaume I i Múrcia*, pp. 105–108. Torres Fontes, *Reconquista de Murcia*, appendix 1 (20 February [1265] 1266), transcribes the mosque/cathedral grant; he has King James invite negotiations with the besieged Murcians in mid-January, holding the first interview on January 20, the second on January 23, the third and final on January 26, with the evacuation and takeover of the fortifications on January 29 through 31, and the solemn entry on February 2, all pieced together from the king’s *Llibre*, c. 150–155.

⁶⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 5 (27 February [1265] 1266): “quod omnibus illis hominibus Aragonie tam militibus quam aliis, qui nobis nunc in ista tanta necessitate nostra mutuaverint pecuniam suam vel victualia sua”.

⁶⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 5 (27 February [1265] 1266): “pro magnis et arduis negociis nostris expendendis”.

besants to that same lieutenant “for all that remained to be given and paid for your share [*porcio*] of the frontier of Murcia, from the day We left Valencia in order to go to the said frontier and up to this day”.⁶⁸ These supplies included 300 cafises of barley, 536 quarters of wine, 268 (*ar*)roves of wheat, and 486 sheep. Expressed in sous, this remnant of a larger debt came to 11,000. On March 29 at Alicante the king issued a pardon and safeguard in perpetuity to Bernat Cortina, accused of double homicide: “because of the many and welcome services that you have done for Us in this war against the Saracens”.⁶⁹ Still at Alicante, the king settles a string of debts on April 18: 2,000 besants for “300 cafises of barley you lent Us in Alicante”; 824 besants for 103 cafises of wheat, at 8 besants per cafis; 400 sous “for one she-mule of yours, that We gave to the [Muslim] vizier of Murcia”; 310 sous for a horse; 200 sous for a random debt; and 1,440 sous connected with collateral. The mixed moneys amount to a total of 10,822 Valencian sous.⁷⁰ On April 18 the king assigned to Prince Peter a series of Valencian towns whose revenues will cover the 60,000 sous “for your expenses”, assuredly in the Murcian war.⁷¹

Curious echoes of the war turn up in a reckoning of various revenues collected for Prince Peter and audited on April 27: 201 sous “received in cash from the village of a Saracen of Murcia”; 300 sous worth of taxes waived “so that the Saracens [of Pego] would return”.⁷² On 28 April 1268 Peter recognized a debt of 2,300 sous to the Viscount of Castellnou (seen above) for payment or “quittance” of expenses “at Murcia”, plus 2,000 sous “for the money you lost in Our service”, and 544 sous for expenses of an eight-day journey from Alicante in the war zone up to Valencia city. On 16 May 1266 King James discussed with the people of Zaragoza in Aragon the 20,000 Jaca sueldos they had volunteered “by reason of the request

⁶⁸ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 79 (1 March [1265] 1266): “pro omnibus que remanserant ad dandum et solvendum de porcione vestra frontarie Murcie, a die qua nos recessimus de Valencia causa eundi ad dictam frontariam et usque in hanc diem”.

⁶⁹ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 12 (29 March 1266): “propter multa et grata servicia que tu Bernardus Cortina nobis in hac guerra Sarracenorum fecisti”.

⁷⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 80v (18 April 1266), including “pro una mula vestra quam dedimus alguairo Murcie”. Torres Fontes has a full transcription in *Reconquista de Murcia*, appendix 7.

⁷¹ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 13v (19 April 1266): “pro expensis vestris”.

⁷² ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 66rv (27 April 1266): “recepit in denariis de alqueria cuiusdam Sarraceni de Murcia”; “ut redirent Sarraceni”.

made this year for any army [*or* for army service] that We asked of you at Murcia". Another loose end on 22 June 1266 was the fleet of ten galleys lying in the port of Tortosa in Catalonia, with their captains requiring 5,600 besants or over 18,000 sous to pay salary and maintenance bills. If Alfonso X did not furnish that sum before the end of August, James committed himself to pay in full and allow these corsair captains to depart.⁷³ As late as 3 August 1266 the king was paying the noble Arnau de Mon(t)só for "the expenses and outlay you made at Our command for the project of the frontier";⁷⁴ and on August 11 another such bill was paid relating to "the expenses and outlay for the project of the frontier" mandated by the crown.⁷⁵ Some three dozen assignments of "honors" or payments went to knights, apparently as rewards for help in the Murcian war.⁷⁶ On 3 January 1267, as the postwar new year began, the king recorded a debt of 590 besants (983 sous) for 590 quarters of wine that Prince Peter "had from you in Alicante", to be paid "from the [crusade] tithe that the clergy of the Tarragona [ecclesiastical] province are obliged to give Us by order of the lord pope".⁷⁷ Such a crusade tithe on all clerical incomes would have brought the king a considerable part of his expenses and supplies for the Murcian war.

Postwar Echoes

At Montpellier in Southern France in early January 1267 the crown issued a comprehensive report on expenditures and receipts handled

⁷³ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 68v (28 April 1266): "de quitacione de Murcia"; "de quitacione de Alachant usque Valenciam"; "quos amisistis in nostro servicio". For Zaragoza see Huici-Cabanes, *Documentos de Jaime I*, V, p. 190, doc. 1497 (16 May 1266): "ratione petitionis exercitus quam vobis faciebamus ad Murciam". For the galleys see pp. 192–193, doc. 1500 (22 June 1266).

⁷⁴ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 24v (3 August 1266): "et pro aliis expensis sive datis quos facietis de mandato nostro pro facto frontarie".

⁷⁵ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 25v (11 August 1266): "quas pro facto frontarie de nostro feceritis mandamento".

⁷⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 94v (22 September 1266 ?), ten knights by name and sum; fol. 95rv, same date, four lists by name and sum, some fifty knights; fol. 94v, same date, to "dilecto militi nostro Philipo de Aguilone".

⁷⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 85 (3 January [1266] 1267): "quod a vobis habuit apud Alachant karissimus filius noster infans Petrus"; "habendos et percipiendos in decima quam clerici tarrachonensis provincie de mandato domini pape nobis dare tenentur".

by Jaume Sarroca, an eminent ecclesiastic and “Our notary”, regarding the Murcian war. These expenses “you or another in your place made for Us and at Our order in connection with the frontier of Murcia, namely from the day We entered Valencia city to go to the aforesaid city, up to the day We left the said city to go to the aforesaid frontier, and from that day also up to the day when We were in Orihuela”. Representative items included: the king’s travel to Alcaraz in Murcia; the round trip to Orihuela, the trip to Murcia and residence there, the trip back up to Alicante, and the trip to Valencia, residence there, and the trip further north. An allied expense was for “Our household while We were on the frontier and in Valencia city” (which would have involved some twenty-five knights plus many functionaries). For the sea transport and battles, the king sums the outlay by those men “whom you dispatched yourself in Our place or by Our authority, both in arming the galleys We caused to be armed by Carròs the lord of Rebollet [and royal admiral] and in whatever else”. A separate item is the garrison “left behind in Valencia city and other places of the frontier”. Then comes: “all the per diem distributions [*porciones*] you gave on Our account in Valencia city to high barons [*richi homines*], knights, and the household who were with Us there for twenty days, and to Our sons Pere and Jaume for forty days before We went to Alicante”.⁷⁸

The audit then lists the supplies that Sarroca “gave in Alicante and in Murcia for Us in flour, wine, barley, grain, Valencian sous, Burgos coins, or besants, as well as everything else, as per diems for Our household, for the entourage [*mainada*] of Ourselves, of Our sons the princes Peter and James and of their households, and of the high barons, knights, and others to whom We ordered a share given, both horse and foot”. Separately come “the expenses for wine, flour, oats [*civada*], and the money and besants” the king awarded

⁷⁸ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fols. 40v–41 (9 January [1266] 1267): “de omnibus datis, missionibus, et expensis quas pro nobis et mandato nostro fecistis vos vel alius loco vestri racione frontarie Murcie—scilicet a die qua civitatem Valencie intravimus causa eundi in frontariam predictam usque ad diem qua de dicta civitate exivimus ad eundem [= eundum] in frontariam ante dictam, et ab illa eciam die usque in diem qua fuimus in Oriola”. Similar details follow on the stages of the Murcian campaign, including “in viatico de Alcaracio . . . usque in Oriolam, et inde recedendo usque in Murciam et stando in Murcia, et inde recedendo usque in Alacant et ibidem stando”. Torres Fontes has another transcription in *Reconquista de Murcia*, appendix 10.

to the Castilian king's brother Manuel, to Castile's governor in Murcia, "and to any others in any place". Supplies (*porciones*) for eighty days also went to the Catalan and Aragonese high barons you dispatched to the frontier at Our withdrawal". Transport is covered in expenditures authorized by Sarroca or his staff or agents "in food supplies to be sent to Us at Alicante, for loading and discharging cargo and carrying [it] in sacks to sea, as well as passage fares" and like incidentals through the king's bailiff at Valencia and through the city's notables [*prohoms*].

The king turns to receipts: all assignments and receipts Sarroca made for Christians, Jews, and Muslims of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia for flour, wheat, barley, wine, and all else; the profit made at Murcia by selling surplus flour; "the shipment of rams" that Castile's governor of Murcia "lent to Us in the army of Murcia, which We caused to be sold in Murcia, for which amount Our chapel is a security collateral at Alicante". A valuable item appears here: reception "of wheat for the galleys, and from the men of the Balearics, and from merchants from other places of Our land, and from the Genoese, and from any other places". A supplementary charter, concerned with portions of the debt still outstanding, reports "on the share, expenditures, and expenses of Us [the king] and Our household at Murcia and on the frontier, and of the high barons, knights, and household who were there with Us" and on all expenses "on the whole frontier and by reason of the frontier", with the collections made "by reason of the frontier" as in the bill of particulars in the previous document.⁷⁹ There remain 26,210 besants to pay, which the king translates at 78,630 Valencian sous (a rate of exchange that depreciates the besant by almost one sou per besant). Payment should come from the levies on Valencia's Mudejars, from the valleys of Alcalá and Gallinera, and from "the [crusade] tithe that the prelates and clergy of Our land owe by concession of the lord pope to collect and have from this present year forward". The king also offers to draft receipts for those who want them, and asserts his willingness to make payment where necessary from any royal

⁷⁹ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 83v (15 January [1266] 1267): "de porcione, missionibus, et expensis nostris et familie nostre Murcie et frontarie, et richorum hominum, militum et familie qui nobiscum ibidem erant . . . in tota frontaria et racione frontarie, cum recepcionibus . . . racione frontarie".

revenues “where you will show Us that We can do so freely and in peace”, according to the provisos in a general charter previously drawn up in the conquered city of Murcia.

These settlements, respectively of 9 and 7 January 1267, effectively bring our story to a close. King James stays in his northern realms all that year; and even in 1268 his brief two months in and around Valencia city have no relevance to Murcia. Money affairs seldom end so tidily however, and echoes of the war continue for a time. On January 17 the king recognized a debt to Simonet Mèdol “and your associates” of 39,000 sous “by reason of the 13,000 besants you lent Us in Alicante”.⁸⁰ An audit of 3 February detailed the 33,413 sous owed by Prince Peter to the Christian financier Adán de Paterna, including eight pence “for keys to fit the gates” at the fortifications of Pego and 100 sous for a castle-guard knight there for a time.⁸¹ On April 9 the king approved accounts of the castellan of Biar on Valencia’s southwestern frontier “for the full three years from 1 January 1264 up to 1 January 1267” for his service in the castles of Biar and Alcoy “and by reason of Our frontier of Villena and the war [against] the Saracens”.⁸² The grand total owed the castellan is 36,404 sous. On 25 April 1267 King James speaks of 18,200 sous owed to the knight Arnau d’Anglesola “by reason of the service he did on the frontier of Murcia”; and 8,000 sous owed to his bastard son Pere Ferrandis “for outlay and costs you incurred on the frontier of Murcia and by reason of it, after We withdrew from there”; and some 6,000 sous to Pere Ferrandis “for a shortfall in your per diem [*porcio*] and your household’s at Murcia”.⁸³

The debt owed to the Jewish crown bailiff Astruc Jacob Xixon on 10 June 1267, for a counterweight artillery piece whose construction he had supervised at Tortosa, may come too late to belong

⁸⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 85rv (17 January [1266] 1267): “que nobis in Alacanto mutuastis”.

⁸¹ ACA, reg. canc. 17, fol. 79 (3 February [1266] 1267): “pro uno terrato quod fecit in turri . . . et pro clavis [= clavibus] ad aptandum portas . . . et pro custodia castris pro uno homine”.

⁸² ACA, reg. canc. 15, fols. 53v–54 (9 April 1267): “in castris de Biar et de Alcoy predictis, et in retencione ipsorum castrorum, et racione frontarie nostre de Billena et guerre Sarracenorum”.

⁸³ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 87rv (25 April 1267): “racione servicii quod in frontaria Murcie fecit”; “et expensis quas in frontaria et racione frontarie Murcie fecistis postquam nos recessimus inde”; “pro defectu porcionis vestre et familie vestre de Murcia”.

to the Murcian adventure, despite its war technology.⁸⁴ It does remind us that Jews were involved both in funding that adventure and in fiscal administration; their role was not central or even prominent, however, and most of the financiers were Christians, such as Adán de Paterna. Prisoner exchange, auction, and sales, and especially the profitable ransoming, formed a central activity on any campaign. The official royal ransomer (*exea* from Arabic *shūʿa*) Domènec de Cambra, authorized to gather and transport convoys of Muslims for whom ransom had been paid, had been operating in his jurisdiction “from the city of Valencia down to Murcia” and was being assisted from 18 October 1267 by his son and successor Joan. He was thus established in that position during the war years; and even now he doubtless had business ransoming Muslims left from the Murcian war.⁸⁵

As late as 13 April 1268, a debt of the king to Guillemó Escrivà or rather to his uncle Arnau represented 15,000 sous the uncle “lent Us when We went to Murcian parts”. To this the king noted another 5,000 sous “lent to Us when We came back from the parts of Murcia”, and which Arnau “had paid for Us to Carròs the lord of Rebollet [and admiral] because of the galleys the same Carròs armed at Valencia at Our order”, obviously for the same Murcian war.⁸⁶ Two weeks later on 4 May 1268 a review of debts by King James lists knights with IOUs for 560 sous, 1,800 sous, 550 sous, and 775 sous, each of them explained as “for the business [*factum*] of Murcia”.⁸⁷

Royal Provisioners

Obviously there had to be a directive force behind the actual processing and distribution of provisions in the royal army. We catch a glimpse of such a functionary during the Murcian crusade. As with

⁸⁴ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 90 (10 June 1267): “racione bricole . . . et racione alcoli, et racione aliorum apparamentorum predicte bricole”.

⁸⁵ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 67v (18 October 1267): “exeatium a civitate Valencie usque Murciam”.

⁸⁶ ACA, reg. canc. 14, fol. 95v (13 April 1268): “quos nobis accommodavit quando ivimus ad partes Murcie . . . ; qui eos nobis mutuavit quando venimus de partibus Murcie; . . . racione galearum quas idem Carrocus de mandato nostro in Valencia armavit”.

⁸⁷ ACA, reg. canc. 15, fol. 99 (4 May 1268): “pro facto Murcie”; “pro facto Murcie”; “pro facto Murcie”; “pro facto Murcie”.

most such general offices (as for example the holder of a public bath or *fonduk*), this provisioning officer would have presided over a complex of personnel who did the actual work, whether in some systematic organization or more likely in various subordinate ad hoc operations. The beneficiary in the Murcian crusade was Bertran de Claret “and those you choose in your stead”, appointed on 5 January 1266 during the final siege, presumably as successor to previous appointees. He received “the *almudacefia* of all Our present army, and also of the city of Murcia when We shall have acquired it, and while We shall be with Our army in the kingdom of Murcia”. The office was specifically “the *almudacefia* of bread [and] wine, and of standard measures, and also of all other things that pertain or ought to pertain to the aforesaid office” at the usual salary.⁸⁸ After expenses, overhead, and that salary, Claret was to give the king half of all profits taken. In civilian life at that time a common office of that name, borrowed from the Muslims’ *muhtasib* or *ṣāhib al-sūq*, had evolved from a market inspector into a general regulatory overseer for economic and public moral behaviour. Here in the army of Murcia he would seem to be a guarantor or regulator of the quality of the foodstuffs, though one cannot exclude as well a formal quartermaster function.⁸⁹

Long after the crusade against Murcia and its trailing wake of fiscal obligations, still being worked out tardily, a more concrete memento turns up on 7 March 1271. In that contract King James awarded to Martí Ximèn de Sovarre “that fortification [*fortitudo*] or castle, next to the town of Alcoy [in the mountains of southern Valencia], that the men of the same town built for their own defense at the time of the war of Murcia”.⁹⁰ Further sustained search might turn up yet another occasional echo in the registers. But by mid-1268 other adventures beckoned. The Murcian war was over. It had

⁸⁸ ACA, reg. canc. 13, fol. 287v (5 January [1265] 1266), transcribed in full below in appendix.

⁸⁹ On the more general form of the office see T.F. Glick, “*Muhtasib* and *Mustasaf*: A Case Study of Institutional Diffusion”, *Viator* 2, (1971) pp. 59–81; and the huge volume by P. Chalmers, *El “señor del zoco” en España: edades media y moderna, contribución al estudio de la historia del mercado*, (Madrid 1973) e.g. p. 575 (James I, Valencia), pp. 530–538 (Jerusalem).

⁹⁰ ACA, reg. canc. 16, fol. 233 (7 March 1271): “militi fortitudinem sive castrum quod est iuxta villam de Alcoy, quod homines eiusdem ville construxerunt ad ipsorum defensionem tempore guerre Murcie”.

marked a great turning point in Alfonso's reign and had sobered him in his crusade ambitions to invade North Africa. It marked a turning point too in King James's life, drawing him close to his erstwhile rival Alfonso. Murcia had been the third and last of his epic crusades. He saw it as a selfless conquest of a kingdom, which he had voluntarily turned back to the Castilian, while candidly admitting that he had been fearing also for his own Valencian frontier. And so he recorded it in his memoirs. All three principals in the Andalusia-Murcia war continued to plan adventures, but death soon removed them from the public stage—Ibn al-Aḥmar in 1273, James in 1276, and Alfonso in 1284.

Like all serious crusades the Murcian war had required a major provisioning exercise, with tentacles reaching far back into the homelands and eventually to papal Rome itself. Its payout continued long after the war, as is true for the expenses of any major war. Among its legacies is the first designation of an Arago-Catalan crusade precisely by the newfangled word "crusade", and the first revelation of the provisioning officer for James's crusading army. The early records scattered haphazardly through the king's registers do not release their secrets easily; from search through contextualizing to interrelating and viewing from various perspectives, those charters do eventually piece together a detailed view of thirteenth-century provisioning for a grand crusade. At the same time they present cumulatively here the first documentary history of the crusade against Murcia.⁹¹

APPENDIX

King James appoints Bertran de Claret "and those whom you choose in your stead" to "the office of provisioner" for the royal army besieging Murcia, and for the city of Murcia when conquered, and as long as the king's army remains in the kingdom of Murcia.

⁹¹ For hundreds of King James's documents from the years 1264–1270, carefully transcribed, with a long interpretive introduction, see Burns, *Transition in Crusader Valencia: Years of Triumph, Years of War*, constituting volume three of his *Diplomatarium* (above in note 24).

Siege of Murcia
5 January (1265) 1266

Reg. Canc. 13, fol. 287v

Per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis Bertrando de Claret almudacefiam tocius nostri exercitus presentis, et eciam civitatis Murcie cum ipsam adquisierimus, et dum fuerimus cum exercitu nostro in regno Murcie.

Ita quod vos et quos volueritis loco vestri teneatis, habeatis, et possideatis dictum officium almudacefie tam panis [et] vini quam mensurarum quam eciam omnium aliarum rerum que pertineant vel pertinere debeant ad officium ante dictum, tam dicte civitatis quam predicti exercitus nostri ut est dictum.

Et habeatis ac percipiat is ratione dicti officii totum illud quod almudacafus debet percipere et habere. Promittentes vobis quod dictum officium vobis non auferemus dum presens exercitus duraverit, et dum vos bene et legaliter vos habebitis in ipso.

Est tamen sciendum quod deductis primo missionibus et expensis quas in dicto officio vos facere oportebit et dicto lucro quod feceritis in dicta almudacefia, debetis dare nobis vel cui voluerimus medietatem.

Mandamus itaque etc.

Datum in obsidione Murcie, nonis Ianuarii, anno domini M^oCC^oLX^o quinto.

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A SOCIETY ORGANIZED FOR WAR? CÓRDOBA IN THE TIME OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

John Edwards

In 1966, Elena Lourie published an article which has strongly influenced subsequent studies of the medieval Spanish 'Reconquest', and even provided the title of a book by James Powers.¹ Quoting John Elliott's aphorism, that 'What was lost in seven years, it took seven hundred to regain', she analysed the legal, military and social frameworks and infrastructure which eventually brought Isabella and Ferdinand within the walls of Muslim Granada, at the beginning of 1492.² Much of Lourie's study concerned a group which she described as 'one of the most important military classes in medieval Spain', that is, the militarized non-noble freeholders, or 'commoner-knights', of Castile and León, who became known as *caballeros villanos*. Unlike nobles, or *caballeros hidalgos*, the non-noble knights of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were 'almost completely submerged in the tax-paying classes and frequently owing semi-servile labour dues'.³ Lourie notes, though, that, given their crucial military and social role in the 'Reconquest', the *caballeros villanos* in the frontier towns of northern and central Spain had, by the thirteenth century, begun to accumulate legal and financial privileges, including complete or partial exemption from direct taxes (*pechos*). Between then and the fifteenth century, two main trends were observable: firstly, the status of *caballero villano* became increasingly, and often conflictively, entangled with that of *hidalgo*, and secondly, there were signs that the acquisition of higher social and economic status was leading many 'non-noble' knights to lose their primal military fervour. While, in the days of

¹ E. Lourie, 'A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain', *Past and Present* 35, (1966) pp. 54–76, reprinted in E. Lourie, *Crusade and colonization: Muslims, Christians and Jews in medieval Aragon*, (London 1990) no. I; J.F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: the Iberian Military Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000–1284* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1988).

² J. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716*, (London 1963) p. 14.

³ Lourie, 'A Society Organized for War', pp. 55–57.

the Leonese, Castilian and Aragonese '*extremaduras*', or frontier regions, 'cowardice was dangerous and co-operation a necessity', such did not appear to be the case when *caballeros villanos* found themselves able to pursue financial gain in towns situated many miles from any Muslim military threat.⁴ As early as the twelfth century, for example in Calatayud, on the Aragonese-Navarrese border, compulsion to military service appeared, and by the mid-fourteenth century Alfonso XI of Castile was preoccupied with the problem. He linked the duty to maintain horses with monetary income, thus creating the social category that was still current in Ferdinand and Isabella's Andalusia—the *caballeros de cuantía, de alarde, or de premia*. Lourie described these succinctly as 'knights of minimum wealth who attended the annual or bi-annual inspections, sanctioned by loss of status and privileges, of horses and equipment', adding that 'For these *caballeros*, there was no mystique of knighthood; they were privileged because they were useful. Entry into their ranks was solely the result of acquiring a horse, inheriting one or having it thrust upon you. And exit was just as casual. The unreplaced loss or sale of one's horse would reduce one to the ranks of the tax-paying infantry'.⁵ As Andalusian evidence will show, the vexed questions of the social status, especially in relation to *hidalgos*, and the continued military relevance, if any, of the *caballeros de premia, alarde, or cuantía*, continued to disturb urban life after the fall of Granada.

In a study first published in 1986, Angus MacKay tackled the question of late medieval Spanish *caballeros* and *hidalgos* in a European context, attempting to answer the question, 'How . . . would someone say "He is a real gentleman" in Spanish?'.⁶ In his characteristic way, MacKay began by presenting two contrasting, and chronologically distant, images, derived from major works of Castilian literature. The first is the eleventh-century historical, as well as literary, hero, Ruy Díaz de Vivar, known as 'El Cid'.⁷ MacKay stresses both the functionality of knighthood in the period, and its effectiveness as

⁴ Lourie, 'A Society Organized for War', p. 59.

⁵ Lourie, 'A Society Organized for War', pp. 57–58.

⁶ A. MacKay, 'The lesser nobility in the kingdom of Castile', in Michael Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Later Medieval Europe*, (Gloucester 1986) pp. 159–180, at p. 159.

⁷ *Poema de Mio Cid*, (ed.) I. Michael, (Madrid 1976); R. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid*, (London 1989).

a route from plebeian to noble status. Thus, for example, 'Men who fought on foot, including those in the Cid's service, and who were lucky enough to capture horses became knights (*caballeros*)', while El Cid himself was enabled by his military activities to 'climb up the social ladder'. Even so, recent scholarship has suggested that the epic *Poema de Mio Cid*, now thought to date from the early thirteenth century, already reflects a situation in which knighthood was becoming increasingly associated with breeding.⁸ MacKay's second example comes from the mid-sixteenth century, when the picaresque hero, Lazarillo de Tormes, attaches himself to his third master, a squire (*escudero*).⁹ Even on his first day of service, when the Toledan *escudero* avoids feeding him, Lazarillo realizes that he is dealing with someone who, in MacKay's words, 'is a sorry figure indeed. Desperately poor, his sole tangible possession is his sword; his most valued intangible possession is his honour. . . . The age of the frontier in Spain has ended'.¹⁰ By the fifteenth century, it is indeed true that the frontier between Christendom and Islam, essentially a Castilian frontier, mainly affected the people of Andalusia. Campaigning was intermittent, and fighting was gradually becoming more 'professional', in the sense that general levies of cavalry and infantry were increasingly rare, and the demand for specialized troops, such as hand-gunners or arquebusiers (*espíngarderos*), was increasing.¹¹ Marie-Claude Gerbet has estimated that up to ten per cent (about 450,000) of fifteenth-century Castilians were *hidalgos*. In the dioceses of Seville and Córdoba, though, the number of *hidalgos* was much lower, and that of *caballeros* much higher.¹² This a suitable starting point for a discussion of the situation of Córdoba, and its territory (*tierra*) in the reign of Isabella and Ferdinand.

⁸ J. Lawrance, 'Chivalry in *Mio Cid*', a paper delivered at the *Mio Cid* Symposium in St Peter's College, Oxford, on 11 June 2002.

⁹ *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y sus fortunas y adversidades*, (ed.) A. Bleuca, (Madrid 1975) pp. 129–155.

¹⁰ MacKay, 'The lesser nobility', p. 160.

¹¹ M.Á. Ladero Quesada, *Castilla y la conquista del reino de Granada*, 2nd edn, (Granada 1987) p. 128.

¹² MacKay, 'The lesser nobility', p. 161; M.-C. Gerbet, 'La population noble dans le royaume de Castille vers 1500. La répartition géographique de ses différentes composantes', *Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval*, [Buenos Aires] (1977–1979, published 1980), pp. 78–99. See also Gerbet, *Les noblesses espagnoles au Moyen Âge, XI^e–XV^e siècle*, (Paris 1994) pp. 203–232.

Córdoba returned to Christian rule, after a gap of over five hundred years, in 1236, but continued to act as a rear base for conflict on, and near, the frontier with the Nasrid emirate of Granada.¹³ Between then and the beginning of the Granada war, in 1481, the city and its surrounding territory were never able totally to relax their military guard. Thus prowess in warfare continued to be of practical, as well as symbolic, value, and was closely connected with the exercise of political power. When Isabella acceded to the Castilian throne, in December 1474, the city itself was still legally in *realengo*, in other words directly subject to the Crown's jurisdiction. As was the case in the other main towns and cities (*ciudades*) of Castile, local government, which included authority over a collection of outlying small towns (*villas*) and villages (*lugares*), as well as lands and other economic resources, was exercised by a municipal council (*concejo*), often called a 'chapter' (*cabildo*). This council, which commonly referred to itself as 'Córdoba' (as it were, the embodiment of the entire city), was headed by a presiding magistrate (*alcalde mayor*) and a chief constable (*alguacil mayor*). Its upper chamber (*regimiento*) consisted of councillors who were appointed for life by the Crown, and were frequently allowed to hand their offices on to successors designated by themselves, thus effectively making them hereditary. Since the mid-fourteenth century, there had notionally been twenty-four such councillors in Córdoba, as in other major cities such as Seville and Toledo, and hence they were known as *veinticuatro*s, as well as *regidores*. The office-holding system had run out of control, though, during the reigns of John II and Henry IV, and by 1480, when Ferdinand and Isabella attempted to reform municipal government, at the Cortes of Toledo, there appear to have been 114 Cordoban '*veinticuatro*s', 24 '*del número*' and 89 '*acrecentados*' (supernumerary).¹⁴ The second chamber of the council, which attended the meetings of the *regidores*, though without a legal right to a voice or vote, consisted of parish councillors, known as *jurados*. They also met as a separate *cabildo* and, in Isabella and Ferdinand's time, might either, as in most cases, be appointed by the Crown, or else, sometimes, elected by the male householders

¹³ J. Edwards, *Christian Córdoba. The city and its region in the late Middle Ages*, (Cambridge 1982) pp. 6–8; M. Nieto Cumplido, *Historia de Córdoba*, vol. 2, *Islam y cristianismo*, (Córdoba 1994) pp. 157–161.

¹⁴ M. Cabrera Sánchez, 'Los regidores de Córdoba en 1480. Aproximación prosopográfica', *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval* 3, (1996) p. 64.

(*vecinos*) of their parish, meeting in its church.¹⁵ During most of the Catholic Monarchs' reign, the local government was in fact headed by a *corregidor*, who was appointed by the Crown to represent it in every respect, like a viceroy.¹⁶ By the beginning of Isabella's reign, Córdoba, like many other cities and regions in Castile, was largely dominated by members of the upper nobility, led, in this case by branches of the Fernández de Córdoba family. The houses of Cabra and Aguilar, themselves created by royal largesse, had spent the previous three decades fighting for dominance in the city and countryside, based not only in their own seigneurial possessions, which had been granted to them by successive monarchs, but also in the city itself. There, the leaders of the two main factions, the count of Cabra and Don Alonso de Aguilar, not only possessed town houses, but also operated loose confederations of personal vassals and other supporters, known as *bandos*, some of whose members held municipal office as Crown appointees. At the end of 1474, the Aguilar *bando*, with Don Alonso as *alcalde mayor*, was dominant, and, although the leader himself was suspended by Isabella and Ferdinand in 1478, seigneurial influence continued to loom large in Cordoban politics for the rest of their respective reigns.¹⁷ As magnates fought, sometimes literally, with the Crown for control over the city and its region, the backbone of local government continued to be the lesser nobility (*hidalgos*), both seigneurial and non-seigneurial, and the various categories of *caballero*.

As far as the ideology of nobility is concerned, the notion of true aristocracy, that is, the achievement of pre-eminence by means of merit alone, was still current in fifteenth-century Castile, even though it bore little relation to reality. For example, Diego de Valera, governor (*alcaide*) of the western Andalusian port of El Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz), in his *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* ('Mirror of true nobility'), put forward this meritocratic concept of nobility as the ideal.

¹⁵ Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 19–20, 24–27, 34–43.

¹⁶ Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 27–34; M. Lunenfeld, *Keepers of the city. The corregidores of Isabella I of Castile*, (Cambridge 1987) esp. p. 203.

¹⁷ Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 131–163 and 'La noblesse de Cordoue et la révolte des "Comunidades" de Castille', in *Bandos y querellas dinásticas en España al final de la Edad Media, Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española*, 1 (Paris 1991) pp. 135–155; M.C. Quintanilla Raso, 'Estructura y función de los bandos nobiliarios en Córdoba a fines de la Edad Media', in *Bandos y querellas*, pp. 157–183.

Nevertheless, he was forced to acknowledge that, in practice, nobles often obtained their rank on the basis of other people's virtues, rather than their own. Nonetheless, the simple definition of a noble (*hidalgo*) was clear enough, at least in theory. *Hidalgos* were less threatened than other subjects by the laws, and were clearly distinguished from the rest of society. A *hidalgo* had a special and personal relationship with the king, and could only be arrested at the sovereign's express order. Out of respect for his military calling, which was far from abstract in a time of almost continuous warfare, his horses and weapons were exempt from seizure for debt, or for any other cause. Because of his supposed virtue, and 'purity' (*limpieza*), or 'blueness' of blood, he might not be judicially tortured. Affairs of honour between *hidalgos* were to be settled by duel, and if a noble had, for some reason, to submit to the death penalty, he was to be beheaded rather than hanged. These privileges naturally applied to the titled nobility (*grandes* or *títulos*), who received lordships with titles, such as duke or count, from the ruler, or else simple lordships (*señoríos*). By the fifteenth century, the possession of a fixed family residence (*casa solar*) for at least three generations, and membership of a lineage (*linaje*), were becoming increasingly important. As Valera's 'Mirror' indicates, the concept of blue blood (*sangre azul*), derived from the heraldic colour blue, meaning 'the heavens', divinity, loyalty and virtue, was treated with veneration. 'Blue blood' could only be preserved by the avoidance of marriage alliances with unworthy persons, and the behaviour of the Cordoban nobility clearly indicates that this point was taken seriously.¹⁸ More problems arise, though, when the attempt is made to distinguish, in this context, between nobility (*hidalguía*) and knighthood (*caballería*). De Valera, for example, had a poor view of knighthood *per se*. 'Caballería, in common [Roman] law', he wrote, 'is not a Dignity [i.e. a high seigneurial or noble office], nor does it confer nobility, except on the *caballeros* of the Roman curia'.¹⁹ Clearly, the function of a cavalry soldier, which had been the hallmark of a *caballero* since well before the time of El Cid, was far from sufficient to designate a *hidalgo*, and this fact is

¹⁸ Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 131–132; Edwards, 'The Spanish urban aristocracy in the late Middle Ages: the life and times of Alonso de los Ríos', unpublished paper delivered to Birmingham University Medieval Society, 10 December 1984.

¹⁹ D. de Valera, *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, 116, *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, p. 116a.

obvious in fifteenth-century Castilian definitions of the 'noble' lifestyle. It was evident that a *caballero* and/or a *hidalgo* should always keep a horse and weapons, in order to be able to respond to the ruler's military summons, but, however hard it may have been to live up to this standard, it was often even more difficult to 'live nobly', in terms of one's job or career. As a law of John II made clear, a nobleman was not permitted to live by 'base and vile offices', and if he did so he *ipso facto* forfeited his status. Jobs regarded as 'base and vile' included those of tailor, leather-dresser, carpenter, stone-cutter, digger, cloth-shearer, barber, spicer, retailer and shoemaker. Offenders against such provisions were to lose their noble status, and revert to that of *pechero*, or a payer of direct taxes.²⁰ Historians of other countries in the period may be surprised that the issue of including such people in the category of 'knighthood' arose at all in Castile, but the reason is to be found in the venerable concept of *caballería de cuantía, de alarde* or, as commonly stated in Córdoba in this period, *de premia*.

In practical terms, the social structure of the upper classes in the city ranged from the upper-noble leaders of *linajes* and *bandos*, through 'poor *hidalgos*' such as Lazarillo's squire, to 'part-time' knights (*caballeros de premia*). In theory, all *hidalgos* were equal before the law, but gross disparities of wealth were already manifest before 1300, and gradually created what was effectively a different, higher class of 'upper nobility' (*alta nobleza*), as the difference in quantity of wealth became one of social quality. Up until at least the fourteenth century, the link between nobility and wealth had been openly admitted in the title 'rich man' (*rico hombre*), which was then the only way in which magnates were distinguished from the rest of the *nobleza*. In the late Middle Ages, French titles, such as duke, marquis, count and viscount, were introduced, and the term *rico hombre* became less prominent, disappearing after 1516. The resultant hierarchy of nobility and knighthood in Córdoba and district, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, consisted of three upper-noble families, all with the surname Fernández de Córdoba, eleven lesser seigneurial families, two with '*títulos*' as count, about twenty non-seigneurial, but nonetheless noble office-holding families, about 250 'simple' *hidalgos*,

²⁰ A. Díaz de Montalvo, *Leyes de España*, (printed at Zamora, 1485) section 4, title 1, no. 10.

and 200–300 *caballeros* who did not ‘live nobly’. These figures should be seen against the background of a population of approximately 25,000 in the city as a whole. Thus *hidalgos* and their families formed about 5% of the population, with non-noble *caballeros* and their families amounting to a further 5%.²¹ Much higher percentage figures may be found in more northerly regions of the Crown of Castile.²²

Turning to some specific cases, by the late fifteenth century, the De los Ríos had no difficulty in qualifying as a noble (*hidalgo*) family. In the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, Diego de Valera asserted that ‘the king can create knights (*caballeros*) but not noblemen (*hidalgos*)’.²³ The twofold implication of this statement, firstly that nobility was a matter of breeding, in the sense that three non-taxpaying generations ‘made’ a noble, and secondly that it involved lifestyle, in the sense that some careers were compatible with nobility while others were not, accorded with the history of the De los Ríos family.²⁴ The De los Ríos had been in Córdoba and its region since the Christian reconquest in the mid-thirteenth century. By the second half of the fifteenth century, they had split into two branches, but Alonso de los Ríos inherited from his father Fernando, in 1493, both the lordship (*señorío*) of Fernán Núñez, a small town in the Campiña, to the south of the city, and also, by means of the current resignation (*renunciación*) system for Crown appointments to municipal offices, a *veinticuatría* on Córdoba city council.²⁵ Seigneurial financial accounts are rare in late medieval Spain, and it is effectively impossible to gain a comprehensive picture of the wealth of the lesser nobles and knights of Córdoba in this period. The fragments of information which survive about the De los Ríos, lords of Fernán Núñez, come mainly from the registers of Cordoban notaries. These make it clear that, in common with the rest of the city’s late medieval aristocracy, Alonso had considerable quantities of property, both in Córdoba itself and in the surrounding countryside, in addition to the lordship of Fernán-Núñez. In the 1490s, and the first four years of the sixteenth cen-

²¹ Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 133, 139–143.

²² MacKay, ‘The lesser nobility’, pp. 160–161; Gerbet, ‘La population noble’, pp. 78–99.

²³ De Valera, *Espejo*, p. 100.

²⁴ M.-C. Gerbet, *La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille. Étude sur les structures sociales en Estrémadure (1454–1516)*, (Paris 1979) pp. 106–110.

²⁵ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, 15.2.1493.

tury, Alonso's mother, Doña Urraca Méndez de Sotomayor, a descendant of another lesser seigneurial family in Córdoba, and resident in the parish of Santo Domingo, was active in the property market, after her husband Fernando's death in 1493. Two years later she bought, through her steward Gonzalo Mexía, a sixth share in twenty-one houses with shops (*casa tiendas*), in the industrial and commercial parish of San Nicolás de la Ajarquía, situated at the bottom of the Calle de la Feria, and in the Calle del Potro.²⁶ The properties were let to tenants for life. Then, in December 1496, Doña Urraca let some of her houses in the western side of the city, near the Puerta de Gallegos, while in 1512 she re-let some shops in the Ajarquía.²⁷ Her son, Alonso, was also in the housing market in 1500, 1501 and 1502. In 1500, he sold some houses, with sitting tenants, to Alonso de San Llorente, a cloth-merchant, and in the following year he sold some other houses to a cuirasse-maker, by appointment to the king, also with a sitting tenant. In 1502, his steward let, on his behalf, some houses in his own parish of All Saints' (*Omnium Sanctorum*).²⁸ In the Cordoban countryside, he rented out, in 1502, a newly-purchased vineyard, with wine-press, houses and *bodega*, to another resident of All Saints' parish. Not long before, Alonso had bought this vineyard from the physician and parish councillor (*jurado*), Alonso Ramírez. He also let a piece of enclosed pasture (a *dehesa*) in 1503.²⁹

The most obvious feature of Alonso de los Ríos' career, though, according to the incomplete surviving records, is not his private wealth, there being, for example, no assessment of the value of his *señorio* of Fernán Núñez, but his public career as a *veinticuatro* on Córdoba city council. The minutes of the council of *regidores*, or *actas capitulares*, which survive almost completely from 1493, when Alonso

²⁶ For the economic and social significance of the Calle de la Feria and the Plaza del Potro in the Córdoba of Ferdinand and Isabella, see J.M. Escobar Camacho, *La vida urbana cordobesa: El Potro y su entorno en la Baja Edad Media*, (Córdoba 1983); J. Edwards, 'The "massacre" of Jewish Christians in Córdoba, 1473–1474', in M. Levene and P. Roberts (eds.), *The massacre in history*, (New York and Oxford 1999) pp. 55–68, and J. Edwards, 'The culture of the street: the Calle de la Feria in Córdoba, 1470–1520', in A. Cowan (ed.), *Mediterranean urban culture, 1400–1700*, (Exeter 2000) pp. 69–82.

²⁷ AHPC, PN, Office 14 (volume 20) section 3/fol. 17v; 14 (30) 10/fol. 26v; 14 (36) 3/fol. 1; 5/fol. 13v, 27–30.

²⁸ AHPC, PN, 14 (35) 13/fols. 1v–2; 14 (36) 4/fols. 21, 22v–23; 14 (36) 5/fols. 16–19v, 30–33; 18 (7) fol. 247.

²⁹ AHPC, PN, 14 (36) 4/fol. 21; 14 (40), no folio number, dated 25.9.1503.

'inherited' his father's office, show him as a faithful servant and delegate of the council, well into the sixteenth century. In April 1493, when he had been a *veinticuatro* for just over a month, he was sent, as a member of a committee (*comisión*) of the council, to represent Córdoba at a meeting with councillors from Seville, over a territorial dispute in the Guadalquivir valley, at Peñaflor. He and his colleagues were accompanying a royal official, a 'judge of boundaries' (*juez de términos*) to meet his opposite number from Seville. Both judges were investigating misappropriation and misuse of royal lands by private individuals, a subject in which, as will be seen, Alonso de los Ríos had some personal interest. In 1496, he was sent as Córdoba council's official representative to the high court (*Chancillería* or *Audiencia*) in Ciudad Real. Once again, his business was concerned with the use and abuse of public lands (*propios*) and boundaries between those lands and private holdings. On this occasion, he was instructed by the *regidores* to request that legal cases concerning Crown lands in the territory (*tierra*) of Córdoba should not be removed from the city's jurisdiction for resolution. His colleagues decided that he should receive both a salary and expenses for his journey north, and his time in Ciudad Real. In December 1497, Alonso was one of Córdoba's representatives in an attempt to mediate between two of the city's subject towns in the Campiña, La Rambla and Santaella, both close to his own lordship of Fernán Núñez.³⁰ In January 1498, he was once again sent as the council's messenger to the Chancillería, on business concerned with royal attempts to prevent or reverse the annexation of royal lands (*realengo*) by private nobles of his own social rank. This time, as usual, the council decided that Alonso should receive expenses at the rate of 300 *maravedies* per day, for forty days. He was sent yet again on a similar errand in November 1499.³¹

In general, Alonso de los Ríos' career as a *veinticuatro* of Córdoba shows him to have been a model for the successful reconciliation of public and private interests by a seigneurial nobleman who also held public office which was legally under the direct jurisdiction of the Crown. He was typical of the great majority of councillors in late medieval Castile in being based in both town and country, and in

³⁰ AMC, Actas Capitulares [henceforth AACC], 24.4.1493, 1.6.1496, 7.12.1496, 13.12.1497.

³¹ AMC, AACC, 24.1.1498, 13.11.1499.

gaining income and influence from both royal and seigneurial sources. In return for running the council's errands, Alonso received various rewards. In April 1499, his wife, Doña Urraca de Godoy, was granted permission, as one of the heirs of Fernando de Godoy, a member of another Cordoban lesser-noble family of long standing, to dispose of some felled pine trees, which were part of their inheritance from Fernando. In August of that year, one of Alonso's servants received a much-prized licence, which was in the council's gift, to import wine to Córdoba from further north in Castile, in order to supplement local production. In 1502, he was granted a minor municipal office, which nevertheless provided him with the opportunity of gaining some income from Córdoba's river trade, as *alcalde del río* (river magistrate). At this time he was also appointed *alarife* (clerk of the works) to the council. In the following year, he received a municipal licence to build a water-mill on council land, and the grant for life of a parcel (*haza*) of publicly-owned land near the north-eastern gate of Córdoba, the Puerta de Andújar, on condition that he kept the local water supply free of pollution. During the acute regional grain shortage of 1502–1506, Alonso, along with other members of the local aristocracy who also held office on the city council, sold the grain from his estates to the public granary and, in 1504, as a reward, he received a tax rebate of 1300 *maravedies*, being the sales tax (*alcabala*) that would normally have been due on this transaction.³²

However, this display of loyalty and service to the city, particularly in the case of Alonso's efforts to defend municipal and royal lands against seigneurial incursions, may appear more than a little ironical, in view of his own contratemps with royal legal officials over the annexation of Crown land (*realengo*) to his lordship of Fernán Núñez. In the 1490s and the first decade of the sixteenth century, the government of Ferdinand and Isabella made a systematic attempt to repair the losses of public property which had been suffered during the previous, unstable reigns of John II and Henry IV. This was done by means of the appointment of so-called *jueces de términos* (judges of boundaries), who were normally high-court judges (*oidores*) or other senior, legally-trained members of the royal administrative staff, to hear and give summary judgement on such cases of abuse.³³ In this

³² AMC, AACC, 29.4.1499, 9.8.1499, 15.6.1502, 3.4.1503, 21.6.1513, 20.5.1504.

³³ Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 118–124.

connection, Alonso de los Ríos' succession to his father Fernando, as *señor* of Fernán Núñez, was not particularly auspicious. One of his first acts in this new capacity, on 20 May 1493, was to appeal to the Royal Council (*Consejo real*) against a sentence given by the royal *juez de términos* then active in the Córdoba area, Licenciado Sancho Sánchez de Montiel. The judge had condemned Alonso's father for seizing various lands and waters which were part of *realengo*, and of annexing them to his lordship of Fernán Núñez, planting vines and olive trees on the usurped lands. Alonso had to bear the expense both of the original trial and of the appeal, and thus had some reason, on his own account, to be familiar with the upper reaches of the Castilian legal system, before he ever became involved in it as the city's representative. This was not the only case pending against his father, when Alonso inherited the lordship. Fernando had also been accused by the city council's legal representative (*procurador*), who was responsible for bringing such cases before the *juez de términos*, of illegally annexing other royal lands, which adjoined his rural property of Torre de Lucas. In addition, Alonso's mother, Doña Urraca, was condemned, in 1494, for illegally seizing land which adjoined her farm (*cortijo*) of Sancho Miranda. Alonso himself, on the other hand, when he came into his inheritance, does seem to have to have adopted an unusually deferent attitude, for one who was a member of the seigneurial nobility, towards the public authority. When he was challenged, in March 1494, for annexing to his lordship some unclaimed and uncultivated uplands (*montes*) known as La Mata de San Nicolás, which belonged to the Crown, he did not contest the case, and the royal judge saw no need to pronounce a formal sentence. Indeed, the land was soon returned to the control of Córdoba city council.³⁴

In 1503, however, the faithful Alonso found himself engaged in a serious conflict with his beloved city council. Once again, the dispute centred on accusations that he had annexed to his *señorío* lands which fell under the jurisdiction of the council. As in the 1494 case, Alonso, when caught out, seems to have tried to settle the matter out of court, thus showing an attitude that was almost unheard-of in the obsessively litigious society of early sixteenth-century Castile.

³⁴ AMC, section 12, series 4, no. 3, fols. 141, 137v–139, 172–173, 185–187; D.E. Vassberg, *Land and society in Golden Age Castile*, (Cambridge 1984) pp. 36–40.

On 8 March 1503, he made an agreement with the local council, whereby the city abandoned all claims against him, in return for the not inconsiderable sum of 120,000 (*maravedies*).³⁵ Later in the month, he was the subject, somewhat unkindly, of a denunciation (*citatoria*) to the council by his own brother, Pedro Venegas. In his absence from the council house (*casas del cabildo*), his fellow *veinticuatro*s considered his formal, and explicitly chivalrous, reply, in which he stated that 'he does not want a legal dispute with the city, but rather to be in its service and at its command as of a lady (*"como de señora"*)'.³⁶ The council appointed a committee, which consisted, in the customary manner, of a mixture of *veinticuatro*s and *jurados*, to inspect the disputed land. Thereafter, though, the matter seems to have been pushed aside by more pressing business, including famine and a political crisis, which involved rebellion by some of the local nobility, in which Alonso de los Ríos played no discernible part.³⁷ It was not until 1510, when these troubles were over, that Córdoba city council returned to the subject of Alonso and his composition payment of 120,000 *maravedies*. In August 1510, the *regidores* decided that, if suitable alternative land could be found in its own, subordinate jurisdiction of La Rambla, which adjoined Fernán Núñez, and which had on occasion been subject to the depredations of Alonso's own territorial and jurisdictional vassals, the plot(s) in question should be bought with his money. However, this decision only served to provoke a new conflict with La Rambla council, which demanded that the 120,000 *maravedies* should be transferred from Córdoba to its own coffers, and also appealed to the Crown to support its request. In February 1512, the Crown did indeed decree that Córdoba should hand the money over to La Rambla, as a punishment for having committed various acts of oppression and violence against various non-noble *caballeros* in the smaller town, who had demanded Alonso's money in compensation. The question of these *caballeros de premia* will be considered in due course, but it appears, from various minutes of the meetings of Córdoba council for 1514, that the 120,000 *maravedies* were not in fact transferred to La Rambla, but instead spent by the city council itself, partly on the purchase of two pieces of

³⁵ AMC, section 12, series 1, no. 18.

³⁶ AMC, AACC, 29.3.1503.

³⁷ AMC, AACC, 3.4.1503.

arable land, and partly on a subsidy to the city's meat supply, which was rented out annually to a consortium, generally of local butchers.³⁸ At this time, Alonso de los Ríos fades from the records of the city council, having served the public interest with unusual loyalty, though not without receiving personal reward or attracting controversy.

Rodrigo Enríquez de Harana, on the other hand, whose life largely coincided with that of Alonso, may serve as an example, as it were, of the 'noble proletariat', being a man of impeccably noble, or *hidalgo*, pedigree, who, nevertheless, eventually dropped out of the upper echelons of Cordoban society, for economic reasons. The Harana family, like the De los Ríos, consisted, by the mid-fifteenth century, of two main branches. Rodrigo was the son of Juan Rodríguez de Harana, but, unlike Alonso de los Ríos, he did not inherit a lordship with vassals, but instead a small amount of largely vine-growing property at Santa María de Trassierra, a village which was under the jurisdiction of Córdoba council, and situated on the Sierra overlooking the city itself, from the north. In 1465, Francisco Martínez, a stonemason (*albañil*), contracted to finish a house on Rodrigo's vine- and olive-growing property, in the Pago de Valdeleche. Within two years, though, the first indications appear of his growing financial problems. In February 1467, he sold his vineyard, yet received nothing in return, as the proceeds went straight to the payment of his debts. In October of that year, he increased the dowry of his wife Constanza, to compensate for three pairs of her houses, which he had sold to pay his debts. When, also in 1467, he apparently rented out another vineyard in the Sierra, this too turned out in fact to be his wife's property. She undid the contract that her husband had made, and let the property to a different tenant.³⁹ By 1473, Rodrigo was a citizen (*vecino*) in the parish of San Llorente (Lorenzo).⁴⁰ He was ill in 1477, by which time he had moved to the parish of Santo Domingo, and made his first will on 9 August of that year, asking to be buried with his parents in the parish church of San Pedro. This mobility may have been dictated by his economic circumstances, but it was not untypical of noble families in Córdoba at the time.

³⁸ AMC, AACC, 16.8.1510, AMC section 13 series 1 no. 22, AMC, AACC, 28.7.1514, 16.8.1514, 28.8.1514, 2.7.1515.

³⁹ AHPC, PN, 14 (3), 1/fol. 119 (16.4.1465); 14 (4), 8/fols. 3–4 (10.2.1467); 14 (4), 9/fols. 6–7 (–10.1467), 15v–16 (10.11.1467); 14 (3), 2/fol. 191 (9.9.1468).

⁴⁰ AHPC, PN, 14 (11), 1/fol. 9 (10.1.1473).

Lineage, or attachment to a particular *bando*, did not necessarily imply a specific geographic location in the city. In any case, Rodrigo's debts, as recorded in this will, included 110 *maravedíes* for a doublet and some shoes, and 1000 *maravedíes* for a quilt. He owned a mule, and also had the use of the vineyard, which was in fact his wife's property.⁴¹ He survived this illness, though, and in 1478 received a windfall of 1000 *maravedíes* as a legacy from his aunt, in settlement of a debt.⁴² By March 1486, his son, Diego Enríquez de Harana, was married to Constanza de Porras, and living in the parish of Santo Domingo. By 16 October 1488, Rodrigo's own wife was dead, but he had married again, and also fallen ill again. Presumably for both these reasons, he decided to make another will.⁴³

At this point, Rodrigo de Harana's humdrum and financially-straitened life became entangled with public affairs. He made his second (1488) will in Trassierra, before the notary (*escribano público*) Diego de Córdoba, who was evidently a convert from Judaism (*converso*). Diego was to be arrested by the Inquisition, on charges of 'judaizing', in 1500, and replaced by Antón López, as part of a purge of *judeoconversos* in Trassierra, undertaken during the reign of Canon Diego Rodríguez Lucero as inquisitor of Córdoba.⁴⁴ The immediately relevant point, however, is that Rodrigo named as his two executors Cristóbal de Mesa, a member of one of the established office-holding families of the city, and Antonio de Palma, a tax-farmer (*arrendador*). Rodrigo clearly thought a lot of Antonio, since, in a codicil, dated 4 August 1489, he left him 1000 *maravedíes*, 'for the great love that he has for him, and for the work that he must undertake to do duty to his [Rodrigo's] soul ("*en complir su ánimo*")'. In this codicil, poor Rodrigo also felt obliged to order his brown mule to be sold, and 'his' (in fact his wife's) vineyard in Trassierra to be handed

⁴¹ AHPC, PN, 14(10), 7/fols. 15–16 (9.8.1477); Edwards, *Christian Córdoba*, pp. 141–142.

⁴² AHPC, PN, 14 (11), 10/fol. 4 (12.5.1478).

⁴³ AHPC, PN, 14 (21), 12/fol. 9v (16.10.1488).

⁴⁴ See note 42 and also J. de la Torre y del Cerro, *Beatriz Enríquez de Harana y Cristóbal Colón*, 2nd edn. (Córdoba 1984), *passim*, and Cabrera, 'Los amigos cordobeses de Cristóbal Colón', in *Las ordenanzas de limpieza de Córdoba (1498) y su proyección*, (Córdoba 1999) pp. 97–104. On the inquisitor Lucero, see J. Edwards, 'Trial of an inquisitor: the dismissal of Diego Rodríguez Lucero, inquisitor of Córdoba, in 1508', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37, (1986) pp. 240–257, reprinted in Edwards, *Religion and society*, no. IX.

over not to his heirs but to Juan de Frias, a member of another office-holding family in the city. Juan de Frias and Antonio de Palma were also appointed as executors of the will of Rodrigo's wife, which was drawn up on the same day. She left her single major property, another vineyard in Trassierra, to the convent of Santa Inés, but only on condition that her husband should, if he survived her, have the usufruct for his lifetime.⁴⁵ Other property transactions took place, involving the possessions of Rodrigo de Palma and his wife, but their trust in Antonio de Palma eventually proved to be misplaced.

The trouble started when Antonio undertook to collect a municipal assize (*sisá*), or imposition (*imposición*) on wine sold in the city and *tierra* of Córdoba in 1494. Such taxes on consumables were commonly raised by the council in order to balance its somewhat precarious budget. Antonio named as his guarantors (*fiadores*) Antonio Contador and his old friend Rodrigo de Harana. Unfortunately, Palma defaulted on his contract to farm the tax, and the council first imprisoned Harana and Contador, and then tried to obtain what was owing by seizing poor Harana's vineyard in Trassierra. The value of the property, including a winepress, a *bodega* and a house, was estimated at about 45–50,000 *maravedies*. However, even if he had bumped along for many years on the verge of bankruptcy, Rodrigo had obviously not lost his personal integrity and credibility. At this point, some of his friends (the council minute book [*libro de actas*] states 'some people' [*algunas personas*]) threw him a life-line. 'In order to do good and alms (*limosna*) to the aforesaid Rodrigo de Harana, as he is old, and poor, and a *hidalgo*, and has no other goods except the aforesaid winepress', they offered the sum of 35,000 *maravedies*, to cover his obligations as a guarantor for Antonio de Palma. The councillors, under the chairmanship of the *corregidor*, debated whether or not to accept this proposal. Eventually, at a later meeting, they decided to accept the 35,000 *maravedies*, mainly on the grounds that, if Rodrigo took the matter to court (presumably with help from his friends, since he himself could surely not have afforded an expensive legal action), the case might leave the city's jurisdiction and be decided unfavourably to Córdoba in a higher court. This, in turn, would lead to the council's incurring legal costs which very probably would greatly exceed the difference between the 35,000

⁴⁵ AHPC, PN, 18 (2), 315v–316 (4.8.1489), fols. 318–317 (4.8.1489).

maravedies offer and the true value of the property, which was estimated to be about a third higher. During the discussion, one of the *veinticuatro*s, Fernán Páez, went so far as to say that Rodrigo was so poor that he should not be required to pay anything towards Antonio de Palma's debts, and that Palma should be required to produce the money himself. But, in the event, the money did not materialize from either source, and the council decided after all to proceed against both Palma and his *fiador*. On 5 February 1496, the sale of Harana's vineyard and Palma's horse (what a blow to knightly status) was arranged for the following Sunday, being two days later. Despite this, on 9 March, Harana was ordered to continue cultivating his property at his own expense, presumably for the benefit of the future owner. The council was still dithering over whether to let or sell the vineyard, though. It transpires, from the opinion given by the council's legal adviser (*letrado*), Licenciado Diego Daza, presented on 28 April 1497, that Harana was still in gaol, and that his health was deteriorating further: his illness had been mentioned in council records on two previous occasions. The lawyer thought that the council's proceedings to date were legal, but, perhaps moved less by compassion than by fear that Rodrigo might die in prison as a debtor, the council responded to Daza's advice by ordering that, if Harana could provide guarantors for himself, he might be released. In the meantime, though, the 'poor *hidalgo*' was to be guarded by 'two honest and trustworthy gaolers (*dos carceleros llanos e abonados*)', to prevent his escaping. This was not an idle fear, since Antonio de Palma had previously been 'sprung' from gaol by some of his friends. In any case, the missing council funds were subsequently made up by means of a transfer of funds from the taxes collected to support the national 'Holy Brotherhood' (*Santa Hermandad*). As a result, the council finally took possession of Harana's property on 2 May 1497, thus bringing a sad and rather sordid episode to an end. Subsequently, in February 1498, Palma's other guarantor, Alonso Contador, made an appearance before the *veinticuatro*s, and announced that he had sold property worth 100,000 *maravedies* at half its value, in order to discharge his obligations to Córdoba council concerning the assize of wine. It was not until February 1499 that Rodrigo de Harana was declared 'free and quit' (*libre e quitto*). On this occasion, his *fiador* was Gonzalo de Burgos, who was probably one of the cloth merchants from the city of that name who were, in that period, gaining a stranglehold over Córdoba's lucrative and valuable export trade in wool. It is

notable that Harana was discharged, apparently to live out his remaining days in his house in Córdoba, but this happened only after the city council had received a letter on the subject from a senior royal official, the treasurer (*tesorero*), Alfonso de Morales. This tantalising hint suggests that, despite his poverty and misfortune, Harana had friends in even higher circles than the office-holding nobility of Córdoba.⁴⁶

Apart from 'poor *hidalgos*' such as Rodrigo de Harana, the best example, in late medieval Córdoba, of a lack of equilibrium between economic and social status was that of the non-noble knights, commonly, though not universally, known locally as *caballeros de premia*. In Isabella and Ferdinand's reign, those Cordobans who possessed goods of sufficient value were still required, by royal order, as well as the threat of denunciation of their neighbours, to assume the duty of maintaining the horse and weapons of a knight, and of taking part in regular parades of inspection.⁴⁷ Just a few years after the Granada war, during which military preparedness had supposedly been at its highest, there are signs that at least some citizens of Córdoba had no further desire to be 'organized for war'. According to the register of one Cordoban notary, Pedro González, a parade of *caballeros de premia* was held on the Campo de la Verdad, on the bank of the Guadalquivir opposite the city, on 5 November 1497. By this account, the *alarde* was hardly a spectacular display by the chivalric and knightly sector of the population. The recorded list of just under 200 names is far from complete, but it includes a representative selection of occupations commonly associated with the rank of *caballero de premia*. Among those on parade were cloth-merchants, general large-scale and small-scale merchants, tanners and dyers, silversmiths, furniture-makers and other craftsmen, tenant farmers (*labradores*), gardeners and woodmen. 'Base and vile offices' were to

⁴⁶ AMC, AACC, 3.6.1495, 6.11.1495, 2.12.1495, 8.1.1496, 29.1.1496, 5.2.1496, 9.3.1496, 16.3.1496, 28.4.1497, 2.5.1496, 25.2.1498, 7.3.1498, 4.2.1499; J. Edwards, 'El comercio lanero en Córdoba bajo los Reyes Católicos', in *Andalucía Medieval, Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* [1976], (Córdoba 1978) I, pp. 423–428, and "Development" and "underdevelopment" in the western Mediterranean: the case of Córdoba and its region in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 2, (1987) pp. 33–34, reprinted in Edwards, *Religion and society*, no. XVI.

⁴⁷ M.Á Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV*, (La Laguna 1973) pp. 199–211.

be found in profusion at this parade.⁴⁸ *Alardes* of *caballeros de premia* were held with some regularity, up to about 1500, for example on the last Sunday of May in 1495, on the Sunday after Easter in 1496, on the occasion in November 1497 that has already been mentioned, and on the last Sunday of May 1500, but difficulties began to surface thereafter.⁴⁹ In 1515, for example, the city ordered a parade of *caballeros de premia*, on the Campo de Verdad on All Saints' day (1 November), but things did not turn out well. Half the 'knights' did not appear at all, some sent their sons or servants in their place, while many were not properly equipped.⁵⁰

The difficulties of the Cordoban *caballeros de premia* were social as well as military, since they found it hard to persuade the noble-dominated city council to recognize their knightly status. It is equally clear, though, that the resentment of the *caballeros de premia* was particularly directed against the *hidalgos*, who had a total, rather than a partial, exemption from direct taxation, and who were, as the case of Rodrigo de Harana demonstrates, more favourably regarded by the municipal oligarchy. It is fairly obvious that wealthy cloth-merchants and successful tradesmen, who even in the 'crusading' rhetorical climate of Isabella and Ferdinand's reign, found themselves confined by the nature of their occupations to the 'purchased' office of *caballero de premia*, were liable to resent those *hidalgos* whom they may well have regarded as idle, pretentious and, as in Harana's case, poor. One reaction, on the part of the *caballeros de premia*, seems to have been to try to drag the local *hidalgos*, and in particular those who had failed to enter the ever more restrictive ranks of the upper nobility, down to their own dubious social status, which was uneasily fixed between 'true, blue-blooded' nobility and now outmoded notions of a functional 'citizen' (*vecino*) knighthood. This concern seems to have been the motive for the attempt by the *caballeros de premia*, in 1495–6, to resist their inclusion with the *peones* (those below knightly status), in the city's response to a demand from the Crown for specialist hand-gunners or arquebusiers (*espingarderos*), for service on the French border. The council succeeded in forcing the *caballeros de*

⁴⁸ AHPC, PN, 14 (31), 22/fols. 304v–306 (5.11.1497); J. Edwards, 'The morality of taxation: the burden of war on Córdoba and Jerez de la Frontera, 1480–1515', *Meridies* 2, (1995) pp. 115, 120.

⁴⁹ AMC, AACC, 4.5.1495, 29.2.1496, 5.11.1497, 27.5.1500.

⁵⁰ AMC, AACC, 12.11.1515.

premia of Córdoba and its *tierra* to contribute to the cost of these troops, but by doing so they started a battle that was to last for at least eighteen years.

Between 1496 and 1515, the *caballeros de premia* of Córdoba increasingly adopted the role of defenders of the traditional liberties of the citizens (*vecinos*) against the growing dominance in the region, with the connivance of the Crown, of the upper nobility and of their allies on the city council. They began to campaign for a more equitable distribution of the tax burden among the citizens. They also became involved in a dispute over the issue of whether *hidalgos* should contribute financially to royal demands for military service. In theory, of course, it was clear that they should not. One of the traditional hallmarks of a *hidalgo* was that he served his king voluntarily and at his own expense, providing his own horse and weapons. A *caballero de premia*, on the other hand, had either to be bribed, by means of tax exemptions, or else be forced, by royal laws related to his personal wealth, to do his duty as a cavalry soldier. The parades of Córdoba's *caballeros de premia*, after 1492, were at best unimpressive and at worst farcical, showing little if any military fervour. It should, though, be borne in mind that the relevant evidence largely comes from the comments of *regidores* who were themselves, by definition, *hidalgos*. Nevertheless, the apparent political radicalism of the *caballeros de premia* was not without effect, in that the council eventually felt constrained, after many years of intermittent pressure on the social pretensions of the poorer *hidalgos*, such as Rodrigo de Harana, to undertake an official investigation of the precise social status of all the nobles and knights of Córdoba. Between 5 May and 12 June 1514, the credentials of those citizens who claimed to be *hidalgos* were reviewed, one by one, in the council chamber, and the resulting lists, which include the tiny minority whose supposed noble status was denied by their peers, survive in the council minute-book for that year.⁵¹

The *caballeros de premia*, including those at La Rambla, who tried to cause trouble for Alonso de los Ríos and his seigneurial friends in 1512, were increasingly adopting a political terminology which

⁵¹ AMC, AACC, 5.2.1496; AMC section 2 series 10 no. 1; AMC, AACC, 5.5.1514–12.6.1514. See also J. Edwards, 'Politics and ideology in late medieval Córdoba', *En la España Medieval* 4, (1984) pp. 289–292, reprinted in Edwards, *Religion and society*, no. XV.

contained more than a hint of radicalism. The La Rambla non-noble *caballeros*, who attempted to secure the proceeds of Alonso's out-of-court settlement for their own town, were eventually declared by the Crown to have thereby defended 'the common good' (*el pro comun*) of the town, at their own expense. First, though, these knights of La Rambla were arrested, and, according to the relevant royal document, they were carted off to Córdoba, and imprisoned in damp conditions, which caused them to suffer ill health. The city council would not release them until half of Alonso de los Ríos's 120,000 *maravedies*, which had been granted by the Crown, in their entirety, to the public funds (*bienes propios*) of La Rambla, had been handed over to Córdoba to help fund its grain supply. The unfortunate *caballeros de premia* were to remain in their unsalubrious imprisonment until the entire citizen body (*concejo*) met, and formally agreed to Córdoba's demands.⁵² Perhaps the non-noble knights of La Rambla were inspired in their actions and obstinacy by their brethren in the capital, or, alternatively, the success of the former in gaining the Crown's support for their civic sentiment encouraged the Cordoban *caballeros de premia*, in turn, to seek remedy for their own grievances in the same quarter. In any case, by 1515, the *caballeros de premia* of Córdoba were petitioning the Crown for the right of entrance to the deliberations of the city council, on the grounds that 'the community (*comunydad*) of the said city moves daily into such diminution and loss that if your lordship [the Crown] does not supply a remedy, it is most certain and notorious that the city will be totally lost'. It is significant that, according to the *caballeros*' own account, the reaction of the city council was to offer them the privilege of *hidalguía*, in order to silence them, and thus, in their opponents' opinion, to 'destroy the community'.⁵³ This phraseology is of great interest, in view of the subsequent revolt of some Castilian towns, though generally not Andalusian ones, against Charles V, under the title of *Comunidades*, but it above all indicates, in the Cordoban context, the dominance of a social over an economic, an inbred over a meritocratic, definition of nobility (*hidalguía*), among those who were politically powerful in the city and its region in the reigns of Isabella

⁵² AMC section 13, series 1 no. 22.

⁵³ AMC, AACC, 20.7.1515 (petitions dated 25.6.1515 to 27.6.1515). For subsequent political developments in Córdoba, see Edwards, 'La noblesse de Cordoue', pp. 135–155.

and Ferdinand. The background to the operations of lesser *señores*, such as Alonso de los Ríos, poor *hidalgos* such as Rodrigo de Harana, and the community-minded, and possibly semi-libertarian, *caballeros de premia*, was a combined royal and upper-noble stranglehold on every aspect of the region's life. The distribution of the spoils after the Castilian victory in the Granada war merely served to confirm the exclusivity of a small upper noble circle that connived with the Crown to their mutual advantage. Thus the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella contained a paradox. Evidently, as the example of Córdoba shows, their kingdoms were very much a 'society organized for war', yet, as the sixteenth century, and Spain's 'Golden Age', dawned, new military equipment and organization co-existed, often uneasily, with social and ideological values that originated in the much earlier centuries about which Elena Lourie so inspiringly wrote.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ On technical military developments in Spain during this period, see J. Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474–1520*, (Oxford 2000) pp. 101–140.

*NAM IUDEI SERVI REGIS SUNT, ET SEMPER FISCO
REGIO DEPUTATI*: THE JEWS IN THE MUNICIPAL
FUERO OF TERUEL (1176–7)

David Abulafia

I

This paper aims to make a contribution to our understanding of the legal status of the Jews in the Crown of Aragon. The argument revolves around a line of text which occurs with slight variations in a good number of municipal law codes from twelfth and thirteenth-century Aragon and Castile, beginning with the wording found in the *Fuero* of Teruel (1176–7): *Nam iudei servi regis sunt, et semper fisco regio deputati*.¹ Although the focus of the discussion is the town of Teruel in the years after its conquest from the Muslims (1171), the subject has much wider ramifications. In the first place, the Teruel *fueros* open up the question of the ‘servitude’ of Jews in relation to the Crown. This is a subject which has been closely studied in other contexts: historians have emphasized the appearance in Germany, under Emperor Frederick II, of the idea of the Jew as a *servus camere nostre*, and its extension to Sicily under Frederick or his successors; studies of not merely the Jews in late medieval Spain but of the *mudéjar* communities have shown how important to the Crown was the claim that subject Jews and Muslims were part of the royal treasure. In fourteenth-century Catalonia and Mallorca the Jews are not merely *nostri proprii*, but they are also the *cofres del Senyor Rey*, the *tesor e cosa nostra propria*, the *peculium et thesaurus noster*.² The importance of

¹ F. Aznar y Navarro, *Forum Turolii regnante in Aragonia Adefonso rege anno dominice natiuitatis MCLXXVI*, Colección de documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragón, ii, (Zaragoza 1905) p. 228, #425; another edition is that of J. Caruana Gómez de Barreda, *El fuero latino de Teruel*, (Teruel 1974). See too the partial edition of F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, Teil 1, *Urkunden und Regesten*, 1, *Aragonien und Navarra*, new ed. by H. Beinart, (Farnborough 1970) [original ed. Berlin, 1929] pp. 1039–43, based on Aznar but with notes comparing the text of references to the Jews in the other *fueros*.

² Y.T. Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry. Community and society in the Crown of*

this concept lies on part in the way it was extended also to cover subject Muslims, both in the Iberian kingdoms and in southern Italy.³ In the fourteenth century, the Muslims of Aragon-Catalonia are described as *thesauri regii speciales*; *son nuestro tesoro e estan a nuestro voler*; *son nostres propis*; and of both Jews and Muslims it is stated in 1360 that *judei et sarraceni servi sunt camere nostre*.⁴ A good example of this phenomenon, even though it is drawn not from Aragon but from the *Fuero General* of Navarre is this: *car todos los moros et todas las moras o que sean o de quien sean, son propis speciales del Rey et assi deuen ser por dreys et por fuero*.⁵

In essence, historians have argued that the concept of Jewish (and Muslim) 'servitude' was diffused from the Empire via Sicily to Spain, arriving in the Spanish lands of the Crown of Aragon under Peter the Great following his conquest of Sicily in 1282. Certainly we do find the use of the concept of the individual Jew as *servus regie camere* in Peter's Sicily, around the same time as we find references to the Muslims of Lucera in southern Italy as *servi camere regie*. The exact terminology used here can be shown to be of German derivation. But the question whether the underlying concepts originated in the German Empire is more complex. Analogous concepts appear in thirteenth-century France and England, with the use of the terms *tanquam servi* and *ki serfs il sunt* to describe the king's Jews.

The difficulty is that the concept also appears in the kingdom of Aragon at the end of the twelfth century, in the statutes of Teruel, drawn up in 1176 and granted to the city by King Alfonso II of Aragon in 1177; and it is repeated in later versions of the Teruel *fueros* from the thirteenth century. Thus it was not simply a flash-in-

Aragon, 1213–1327, (London 1997) p. 9; cf. F. (later known as Y.) Baer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Königreich Aragonien während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin 1913) p. 13.

³ D. Abulafia, 'The servitude of Jews and Muslims in the medieval Mediterranean', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen Âge, Temps Modernes*, 112, (2000) pp. 687–714; D. Abulafia, 'Monarchs and minorities in the late medieval Mediterranean: Lucera and its analogues', in P. Diehl and S. Waugh (eds), *Christendom and its Discontents. Exclusion, persecution and rebellion, 1000–1500*, (Cambridge 1996) pp. 234–63, repr. in D. Abulafia, *Mediterranean Encounters, economic, religious, political, 1100–1550*, (Aldershot 2000).

⁴ J. Boswell, *The royal treasure. Muslim communities under the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century*, (New Haven 1977) p. 30, n. 1.

⁵ M. García Arenal and B. Leroy, *Moros y Judíos en Navarra en la baja Edad Media*, (Madrid 1984) p. 51, citing lib. 3, tit. 8.

the-pan idea, enunciated in 1176 and then forgotten. The statutes of Teruel were recopied many times, including versions in the vernacular, and had a powerful influence in the Spanish kingdoms around 1200.⁶ In the vernacular versions of the Teruel law code, dating to the early thirteenth century, we read: *Qual los jodios sieruos son del sennor Rey et sienpre a la real bolsa son co[n]tados*.⁷ Thus the term *fiscus* is translated as *bolsa*. Moreover, we can be sure that the passage is not a late interpolation but most probably part of the original text of the statutes, because of the speed with which the Teruel model (or the lost model from which it was itself derived) was diffused across the Iberian kingdoms.⁸ For the influence of this legislation was by no means limited to Teruel. There is a difference of opinion between Aragonese and Castilian historians about the degree to which other law codes depended on that of Teruel. But a widely accepted view is that, across the Castilian border, the town of Cuenca modelled its statutes on those of Teruel in about 1190-91, and the text of the passages concerning Jews is very similar, including the remark *Nam iudei servi regis sunt et fisco deputati*.⁹ The view of Ureña that the Cuenca code was actually the model for Teruel is a good example of modern Castilian triumphalism.¹⁰ In his English version of 2000 James Powers renders the full passage as: 'Jews do not have any part in the pecuniary penalty of a Jew, because all belong entirely to the king, since, in fact, the Jews are the serfs of the king and they are entrusted to his treasury'.¹¹ It will be seen that the use of

⁶ For the history of the text see the important study by A.M. Barrero García, *El Fuero de Teruel. Su historia, proceso de formación y reconstrucción crítica de sus fuentes*, (Madrid 1979). Also, more generally, see J. Lalinde, *Los fueros de Aragón*, (Zaragoza 1976) especially pp. 389, with a useful bibliography of printed *fueros*, pp. 159-60; and J.F. Powers, *A society organized for war. The Iberian municipal militias in the central Middle Ages, 1000-1284*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1988) pp. 219-29.

⁷ M. Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, *Leges Hispanicae Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, (Stockholm 1950) p. 320, #568.

⁸ On interpolations, see Barrero, *El Fuero de Teruel*, pp. 74-7.

⁹ G.H. Allen, *Forum Conche. Fuero de Cuenca*, published in two parts in *University Studies published by the University of Cincinnati*, ser. 2, vol. 5, no. 4 and vol. 6, no. 1, (Cincinnati 1909-10). For this passage, see part 2, p. 65, cap. xxix, #31; but cf. the severe criticisms of this edition in R. Ureña y Semenzaud, *Las ediciones del fuero de Cuenca*, (Madrid 1917); also Ureña's edition, *Fuero de Cuenca*, (Madrid 1935). There is a newer edition by A. Valmaña Vicente, *El fuero de Cuenca*, 2nd ed., (Cuenca 1978). See now also the study and English translation by J.F. Powers, *The Code of Cuenca. Municipal law on the twelfth-century Castilian frontier*, (Philadelphia 2000).

¹⁰ Ureña, *Fuero de Cuenca*; Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 18.

¹¹ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 165.

the term 'serfs' is not entirely appropriate. However, the Cuenca code had considerable influence as far away as La Mancha and Extremadura, to judge from manuscripts of the fourteenth century.¹² In the vernacular *fuero* of Zorita de los Canes, known from a manuscript of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century, we read: *Et sabedora cosa es, que en calonna de iudio, el iudio no aya parte, ca toda es del Rey. Ca los judios sieruuos son del Rey et deputados ala sua mesa*.¹³ Other Castilian communities that based their *fueros* on Cuenca included Alarcón, Andújar, Baeza, Bejar, Iznatoraf, Moya, Úbeda, Villaescusa de Haro and possibly Plasencia.¹⁴ Back in Aragon, in the law code of Albarracín, preserved in a manuscript of the early thirteenth century, the wording becomes: *Nam iudei servi Domini sunt et semper fisco dominico, deputati*.¹⁵ It should be noted that, while Ana Barrero has firmly established the influence of the earlier law code of Daroca on that of Teruel, the passages dealing with Jews under examination here do not appear in the Daroca code of 1142, which is very brief and has only a small amount to say about Jews (to which we shall return later).¹⁶

It must be mentioned that one school of thought seeks to reduce the dependence of Cuenca on Teruel by insisting that the similarities stem from shared local customs rather than from an attempt by the legislators of Cuenca to edit for their own use the Teruel code. James Powers is an exponent of this view:

Given that the ordering of the laws demonstrates rather little in the way of parallel structure between the two municipal codes, I believe that the redactors of the *Forum Conche* recorded local customs similar to those of neighboring upland Aragon, rather than simply copying Teruel's laws.¹⁷

¹² Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 1, p. 8.

¹³ R. de Ureña y Semenjaud, 'El Fuero de Zorita de los Canes según el códice 217 de la Biblioteca Nacional (siglo XIII al XIV) y sus relaciones con el Fuero latino de Cuenca y el Romanceado de Alcázar', *Memorial Histórico Español. Colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 44, (Madrid 1911) p. 280; the use of the term *mesa* is interesting here. The Alcázar text, cited by Ureña reads: *porque todos los iudios son syeruos del Rey. Otrossi el iuez no ade auer sielmo en la calonna del iudio*.

¹⁴ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 17.

¹⁵ A. and I. González Palencia, *El fuero latino de Albarracín (fragmentos)*, (Madrid 1932) p. 72; for the date of the manuscript, see the discussion on p. 4.

¹⁶ Barrero, *El fuero de Teruel*, p. 92. For an up-to-date list of other *fueros* see Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 233–4.

¹⁷ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 3.

Powers notes that the Cuenca code was more widely copied in Castile than that of Teruel in Aragon, and uses this as a plank in his argument that the Cuenca code did not simply depend on that of Teruel, but represents an autonomous tradition of local law which fanned out from the Cuenca-Teruel frontier region into newly conquered areas further to the south. However, he also notes that many of the precedents for legislation concerning bathing, duelling and military practices can be found in Aragon rather than Castile.¹⁸ Moreover, the sections on the Jews in both codes do contain striking similarities of language which suggest direct copying, whether by Cuenca from Teruel or by both from a lost original. Probably, therefore, the answer is somewhere in between the view that Cuenca is simply a re-edition of Teruel and that both are derived from local unrecorded customs. Cuenca must depend in part on Teruel or another written model very similar to Teruel, while it also accommodates distinctive local traditions of its own. And, since the Teruel code is the first substantial city law code to survive, it is possible to agree with Ana Barrero that a lost model of earlier date (her '*código X*') was the source from which it derived, as perhaps did some of the other law codes in Aragon and Castile which contain very similar provisions.¹⁹

Indeed, there is evidence that suggests when the interaction took place, which also helps to confirm the argument that the Teruel and Cuenca codes are of the late twelfth century, that is, older than any surviving manuscripts. Alfonso II of Aragon was present with Alfonso VIII at the siege of Cuenca in 1177, which occurred, therefore, in the year when the Teruel *fuero* was apparently granted by the same king. The main subject of discussion between the two kings appears to have been the question which conquered Muslim lands were to be assigned to Castile and which to Aragon; but it is perfectly probable that at this point the Castilians saw a copy of the newly authorised *fuero* of Teruel. This would certainly explain the existence of very close similarities of phrasing, while at the same time explaining the many differences between the two codes, in ordering of laws and in exact provisions, which most likely drew on widely diffused customary law. Charter evidence from Cuenca makes it plain that the rules laid down in the Cuenca code were being followed in land transfers

¹⁸ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁹ Barrero, *El fuero de Teruel*, pp. 125-36, and her *stemma*, p. 137.

from around 1190.²⁰ And this is only to confirm what the *fueros* themselves claim in their prologues about their origins and dates.

II

It is necessary to begin with some comments on the wider setting. The 'servitude' of Jews in medieval France, England and Germany has long been the subject of speculation and argument. It has been said that the concept 'dominates present historiography about the legal status of medieval Jews'.²¹ Yet discussion of this issue has been very localised: there have been important contributions based on the English evidence by Jack Watt, on the French evidence by Gavin Langmuir, and a classic statement based on the German evidence by Guido Kisch. By contrast, the Mediterranean has been much more poorly served. Briefly at any rate the idea of the Jew as a *servus* has been mentioned in standard works on the Jews of Spain such as the general history of the Jews in Christian Spain by Yitzhak Baer, and in his doctoral study of the Jews in Aragon; but the most recent authoritative study of Catalan-Aragonese Jewry, by Yom Tov Assis, merely summarises what Baer said eighty-four years earlier, with the help of what are essentially the same documents, while insisting that 'the Jews' position during this period was far from that of serfs, even "royal serfs".²² In his new study of the Cuenca code, James Powers remarks that 'the kings held custody over them as royal property', well chosen words which do not, however, explain the phenomenon of Jewish 'servitude'; and he notes that injury fines they paid were accorded to the king and not to the Jewish community, as a result.²³ This leaves very uncertain what is meant by the concept of the Jew as a *servus* of the king. It will be seen that it is necessary to trace back a very long way several elements in the phrase *Iudei servi regis sunt et semper regio fisco deputati* which appears in the Teruel statutes.

²⁰ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 1-2, 19, 22.

²¹ G. Langmuir, "'Tanquam Servi': the change in Jewish status in French law about 1200", in G. Langmuir, *Toward a definition of Anti-Semitism*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1990) p. 167; the study originally appeared in M. Yardeni (ed.), *Les Juifs dans l'histoire de la France*, (Leiden 1980) pp. 25-54.

²² Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, pp. 9-10.

²³ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 12-13.

At the centre of the discussion must be the question whether the 'servitude' attributed to Jews or Muslims is really analogous to that of serfs. It has been seen that Powers translates the term *servi regis* as 'serfs of the king' in his new version of the *fuero* of Cuenca.²⁴ The clearest statement by modern historians that Jewish 'servitude' can be assimilated to serfdom appears in the free use that has been made by historians of the term 'serfs of the royal chamber' to translate *servus regie camerae*, a term which in any case only came into regular use, as far as can be seen, in the reign of Frederick II, in his Jewry privilege of 1236 and in subsequent privileges conferred by him on the Jews of Vienna. A past generation of Jewish historians was particularly convinced that the status of the Jews was inherently miserable and characterised by almost continuous persecution; they were therefore inclined to emphasize the negative aspects of this 'servitude'. Thus Salo Baron simply used the phrase 'Jewish serfdom'. And Guido Kisch, in an important study of the legal status of the Jews in medieval Germany, translated the term *Kammerknechtschaft* without any significant hesitation as 'chamber serfdom', understanding it to mean, by the end of the thirteenth century, 'the complete "appertainment" of the Jews, with their persons and possessions, to the imperial chamber'. Here he cites the decree of Rudolf von Habsburg of 6 December 1286:

Cum universi et singuli Judei, utpote camere nostre servi, cum personis et rebus suis omnibus specialiter nobis attineant vel illis principibus, quibus iidem Judei a nobis et imperio in feodum sunt concessi . . .

The text speaks of *nos vel domini quibus attineant*.²⁵ Kisch linked the 'serfdom' of the Jews in Germany to the prohibition against bearing arms, which they shared with the *servi Dei*, the priests, from 1103 onwards; the result was that they depended entirely on royal or princely protection for their safety, at a time when conditions were becoming increasingly difficult (one thinks here of the pogroms launched against the Jews during the First Crusade):

It was as obvious as it was logical that the Jews, barred from the right of arms, reduced to merely subordinate services in the army, socially

²⁴ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 165.

²⁵ G. Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany. A study of their social and legal status*, (Chicago 1949; new ed., New York 1970) pp. 129-30.

degraded, and legally at a disadvantage, should come to be considered outright serfs, *servi*, and that rule over them should be assigned to their protector, the king.²⁶

Thus, there is an easy slippage into the assumption that *servi* means no more or less than serfs (without, for that matter, really defining the term 'serf').

Yet the issue is not resolved so easily. Service and serfdom are by no means the same thing, but similar vocabulary was employed for both. The term *servus* is one of the most inexact descriptions of status in medieval law codes and charters. We can see this most clearly when we examine the phenomenon of the unfree knight or *ministerialis*, whether in Germany or in southern France. In eleventh and twelfth-century Germany, the term *ministerialis* was used interchangeably in the Salian chancery with *cliens*, *minister*, *miles*, *servitor*, *serviens* and *servus*.²⁷ It is as well, therefore, to remember the words of Dietmar Willoweit in his study of Jewish *Kammerknechtschaft*: 'Der Begriff *servus*, *Knecht*, hat in der Stauferzeit noch keinen eindeutigen negativen Gehalt'.²⁸ In the thirteenth century we find the terms *servi* and *servi militares* used of the knights of the bishops of Hildesheim and Halberstadt.²⁹ The crucial point was that there was an awareness that *ministeriales* were unfree: in the words of Benjamin Arnold, 'the lords had hereditary, proprietary rights over their actual persons, services, and possessions', and yet 'the unfreedom of *ministeriales* was . . . nothing like that of serfs'; they were *homines proprii*, 'owned persons'.³⁰ All these points are intended to help us understand what the status of royal *servi* meant for the Jews. Was it a demeaning condition? Clearly Frederick II had no great interest in treating the Jews as the equals of ennobled *ministeriales*. But what we do have here is evidence that the concept of service in a royal or princely household was understood in a rather neutral sense. It was not demeaning to serve the ruler. Rather, it was a privilege to do so. And this

²⁶ Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany*, p. 130.

²⁷ B. Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050-1300*, (Oxford 1985) p. 33.

²⁸ D. Willoweit, 'Vom Königsschutz zur Kammerknechtschaft. Anmerkungen zum Rechtsstatus der Juden im Hochmittelalter', in K. Müller and K. Wittstadt (eds), *Geschichte und Kultur des Judentums. Eine Vorlesungsreihe an der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg*, (Würzburg 1988) p. 84.

²⁹ Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050-1300*, p. 36.

³⁰ Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050-1300*, pp. 54-5, 58, 66.

emerges clearly from the charter in favour of the Jews that the emperor issued in 1236:

cum in servis suis dominus honoretur, quicumque se Iudeis servis nostris favorabiles et benevolos exhibuerint, nobis deferre non dubitent . . .

Although the use of the three word term *servi regie camerae* in the Empire cannot be traced back before 1236, its components do have a longer history. In the first place, the idea that Jews belonged to the royal or imperial *camera* was expressed several times from 1090 onwards: in 1090 at Worms it was stated that the Jews *ad cameram nostram attineant*; in 1179, in the *Landfriede* of Frederick Barbarossa, we are told that *ad fiscum imperatoris pertinent*.³¹ Attention should focus here on the word *camera*, which can be understood to mean ‘treasury’, as does *fiscus* in the Teruel document and, obviously, in Barbarossa’s document of 1179.³² Moreover, Kisch was alive to the fact that the idea of ‘belonging’ to the royal chamber or fisc was not uniquely applied to Jews; it could also apply to churches, for instance:

The term *ad cameram attinere* contains nothing more than a reference to an immediate legal relationship of the *attinentes* or *pertinentes*, institutions or persons, to the emperor or king, with the exclusion of all intermediary powers.³³

In a letter to Pope Gregory IX of September 1236, Emperor Frederick II elaborated on the concept of Jewish ‘servitude’ by stating that:

Judeos autem etsi tamen in imperio quam in regno nobis communi iure immediate subiaceant, a nulla tamen ecclesia illos abstulimus, que super eis jus speciale pretenderet, quod communi juri nostro merito preferretur.

‘The Jews in the Empire and in his kingdom, according to common law, are directly subject to our authority’.³⁴ Around this time Frederick II seems to have been particularly interested in expressing the concept

³¹ I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, H. Tykocinski (eds), *Germania Judaica*, Band I, *Von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1238*, (Tübingen 1963) p. xxiii; Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany*, pp. 134, 413.

³² J. Parkes, *The Jew in the medieval community*, (London 1938) p. 162; cf. Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany*, p. 423.

³³ Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany*, p. 134.

³⁴ J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*, (Berlin 1902) no. 498; Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany*, p. 144, no. 498.

of the Jews as *servi camere nostre*, for example in the Vienna privilege of August 1236; and the term spread further afield, to Hungary in 1251, to Bohemia in 1254, to Poland in 1264.³⁵

There may also be French antecedents for the use of the term *servus* in relation to Jews. Louis IX's statute concerning the Jews of 1230 states that no one may retain the Jew of another lord, but wherever the errant Jew may be found he may be lawfully seized *tanquam proprium servum*.³⁶ Thus in France the Jew was treated in thirteenth-century legislation not as a serf, but as someone who was analogous to a royal serf, *tanquam proprium servum*, with a heavy stress on the *tanquam*.³⁷ In England, according to the Statute of Jewry of 1275, it was stated that the Jews were the serfs of the king—*ky serfs il sunt*.³⁸ For Langmuir, the essence of the status of the Jews was that they were, well, *Jews*.³⁹ As Jews their status showed analogies to, but was never identical with, that of other elements in society, including women, children, even priests (the unarmed *servi Dei*). This seems to be confirmed by the practice across Europe of identifying most Jews in documents with the terms *judeus* or *judea*; as will be seen, this was not simply a definition of their religious standing but it also constituted a statement about their legal status.

In addition, it is important to bear in mind the theological image of the Jew as someone who is condemned to perpetual servitude as a result of his refusal to accept Christ. Hostiensis stated: 'Although the Jews are enemies of our faith, they are our *servi* and are tolerated and defended by us'.⁴⁰ This aspect of the problem of Jewish 'servitude' has been quite extensively discussed, with varying conclusions. For Lena Dasberg, writing under the influence of Kisch's work, lines can be drawn linking the Decretal collection of 1234 to Frederick II's thinking on the issue of Jewish status, and in partic-

³⁵ *Germania Judaica*, pp. xxiii–xxvi. Cf. S. Simonsohn, *The Jews in Sicily*, vol. 1, 363–1300, (Leiden, 1997) p. 453, #214, of 1237, the first Sicilian reference to the phenomenon.

³⁶ Langmuir, "*Tanquam Servi*", p. 167.

³⁷ W. Jordan, *The French monarchy and the Jews from Philip Augustus to the last Capetians*, (Philadelphia 1989) p. 133.

³⁸ J. Watt, 'The Jews, the law, and the Church: the concept of Jewish serfdom in thirteenth-century England', in *The Church and Sovereignty*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia, vol. 9, (Oxford 1991) pp. 159–60.

³⁹ Langmuir, "*Tanquam Servi*", pp. 167–94.

⁴⁰ Cited in A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in dispute*, (Aldershot 1998) essay i, p. 182.

ular to the Jewry privileges of Vienna (1237), where the theological concept is cited alongside references to the Jews as *servi*.⁴¹ Some authorities insist that the theological arguments had particular influence on Innocent III's Jewish legislation, which itself appears to have influenced Frederick II's legislation concerning Jews, most obviously in the kingdom of Sicily; here as early as 1221 Frederick insisted that Jews must wear distinctive clothing in public. While the pronouncements of the Fourth Lateran Council were influential here, Innocent had already stressed the *perpetua servitudo* of the Jews in his bull *Etsi iudaeos* of 1205.⁴² The bull *Sicut iudaeis* of 1190, very frequently reissued, became a sort of papal constitution for the Jews; Stow sees it as 'a contractual text', whose aim was 'to guarantee the rights of Jews who pledged their "fidelity", by which is meant "service"'. Jews submitted to the political authority of papally directed Christian society, and the papacy itself would intervene to protect the Jews from disturbance of their limited rights, as it had done since the time of Gregory the Great.⁴³ And yet the striking feature of this highly influential papal legislation about the Jews is that it postdates the Teruel formulation; whereas it may have influenced Frederick II's approach to the question of Jewish status, it cannot have influenced the approach of Alfonso II and the lawmakers of Teruel.

The concept of the perpetual servitude of the Jew undoubtedly helped to lock into place the idea of the Jew as the king's *servus*. Its roots lie in St Augustine's idea of conditional tolerance of the Jew: the Jew who was said to have killed Christ, who refused to believe in him, who was condemned to lose his territory and to wander the earth, who was sentenced to be subject to other nations, until the final conversion of the surviving remnant at the End of Time;⁴⁴ but also the Jew who was the possessor of the original text of the sacred

⁴¹ L. Dasberg, *Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judensstatus im 11. Jahrhundert*, (The Hague 1965) pp. 53-4, based on Kisch, *The Jews in medieval Germany*, p. 151.

⁴² K. Stow, 'The Church and the Jews', in D. Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5, c. 1198-1300, (Cambridge 1999) pp. 206-7.

⁴³ Stow, 'The Church and the Jews', pp. 216-17.

⁴⁴ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 46. Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones de Scripturis*, *Sermo V*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 38, col. 57; cf. A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, (London 1995) pp. 65-6; B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, Études Augustiniennes, (Paris 1946) p. 178; B. Blumenkranz, 'Augustin et les juifs, Augustin et le judaïsme' in *Recherches augustiniennes* 1, (1958) pp. 225-41.

writings which were said by Christians (but denied by Jews) to contain the prophecies of the coming of Christ:

*facti sunt quasi custodes Librorum nostrorum. Quomodo servi, quando eunt in auditorium domini ipsorum, portant post illos codices, et foris sedent; sic factus est filius major filio minori.*⁴⁵

The elder brother serves the younger brother, in a reversal of expectations (with plenty of Biblical examples). Augustine spells out the relationship between Jew and Christian starkly enough:

*Attendite mysterium. Ecce Judaeus servus est Christiani.*⁴⁶

As a *testimonium veritatis* he was to be allowed to practise his religion, for his presence in Christian society was seen as proof of the truth of Christianity, as the New Israel, and of God's abandonment of the Old Israel. In particular he was not to be killed. Alongside this highly influential view, Roman law insisted that Jews might practise their religion subject to strict limits, such as the right to use old synagogues but not, in theory at least, to build new ones; Jews could not exercise authority over Christians. Such an approach also influenced the conditional tolerance preached by Gregory the Great, who was even prepared to leap to the defence of maltreated Sicilian Jews.⁴⁷ The Augustinian view and the stipulations of civil law converged neatly. As Willoweit says, 'dieser Augustinus-Text umschreibt die Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Judenrechts'.⁴⁸ We could thus think of the evolution of the concept of Jewish 'servitude' as the convergence of several concepts of Jewish status, legal and theological.

III

All this still leaves much that is unexplained about the use of the phrase *Nam iudei servi regis sunt et semper fisco regio deputati* sixty years before Frederick II's first reference to Jews as *servi camere nostre*. One approach might be to argue that the legislators of Teruel were following a Muslim model (that of the *dhimmi*) in defining the status of

⁴⁵ Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 38, col. 57.

⁴⁶ Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 38, col. 56.

⁴⁷ Stow, 'The Church and the Jews', p. 217.

⁴⁸ Willoweit, 'Vom Königsschutz zur Kammerknechtschaft', p. 72.

Jews. But it is highly unlikely that the statutes directly reflect Muslim practice in Islamic Teruel; the statutes also deal with subject Muslims, for whom some system of accommodation within Christian society had to be found, and occasionally apply the same rules to Muslims as to Jews.⁴⁹ In any case the idea of the ruler possessing the Jews is in its essentials quite different from the concept of the *dhimmi* which obtained in Islam, where the Jew's personal freedom was not seriously circumscribed: the Jew was a second class citizen, but a citizen, in Bernard Lewis' excellent formulation. He was not an outcast, nor was he 'owned'. Since the Almohads had done their best to extinguish Christianity and Judaism in their lands, it is clear that the Jews of Teruel after 1170 included settlers who were refugees from Almohad territory or inhabitants of towns long in Christian hands, whom the Aragonese kings were encouraging to settle on the frontier.⁵⁰ In other words, it would be foolhardy to assume that the Jews of Christian Teruel were no more and less than the old Jewish population of Islamic Teruel. The charters of the kings of Aragon at this period, to which further reference will be made, indicate that the Jewish population was mobile, as was the entire frontier population. However, the Jews of Teruel were also *vecini*, and it is evident that this term was used to mean those who had permanent residence in the city and who possessed certain rights as well, i.e. its citizens, who could be of any of the three rival religions. Put simply, the Jew can be both *vecinus* and *servus* at once. This is not like the servitude of a serf or slave.

However, it is essential to sound a special note of warning. The reference to Jews as *servi regis* comes at the end of quite a lengthy discussion of the legal problems that arise when a Jew and a Christian face one another in court. The reference to the Jews as *servi regis* arises from a discussion of physical assault upon, and murder of, Jews by Christians, and indicates that in attacking a Jew a Christian is attacking royal property. The statement must thus be understood as a guarantee to the Jews that they are under the direct protection of the king of Aragon. The concepts being enunciated here are therefore not far removed from the idea of the German Jew, and later

⁴⁹ Cf. Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 13-14, for the status of Muslims in the similar Cuenca *fuero*.

⁵⁰ The Cuenca code explicitly encouraged Christians, Muslims and Jews to settle: Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 31.

the Sicilian Jew, as someone who 'pertains' to the royal chamber and whose safety is guaranteed by the Crown, which defends the otherwise defenceless and generally unarmed Jew.⁵¹

If we wanted to find a German imperial connection in order to explain the concept of the Jew as a *servus fisci* one place to look might be imperial Provence, over which Alfonso II was able to assert his lordship in the late twelfth century.⁵² However, this was in the face of German attempts to make more of a reality of imperial rights over the kingdom of Burgundy, and it would be necessary to argue that the concept of fiscal servitude was known and even practised in Provence. But there seems to be no evidence for this, and the issue must remain in the realms of speculation. Another possible link is the career of Conrad von Rotenburg, son of Frederick Barbarossa, who was betrothed to the eldest daughter of Alfonso VIII in 1187. He is mentioned in the prologue to the Cuenca code, which, to judge from its first lines, was given approval by King Alfonso VIII of Castile at a time around 1190 when Aragon and Castile were no longer on the best of terms (it rejoices in Castilian victories over al-Andalus, Aragon, León, Navarre and Portugal).⁵³ It is certainly not impossible that the similarity between the idea of the Jews as *servi* of the fisc in Barbarossa's Germany and the same concept in the Cuenca *fuero* should be traced back to the presence of German royalty at the court of Castile. But this then suggests that Cuenca influences Teruel, which is unlikely. And other reasons will be adduced for believing that the clause *Nam iudei servi*... was not simply an interpolation, but that it reflects an attitude to the Jews present at other points in the Teruel code.

⁵¹ But for an armed Jew in the service of the king of Aragon, see E. Lourie, 'A Jewish mercenary in the service of the king of Aragon', *Revue des Études Juives* 137, (1978) pp. 367–373; reprinted in E. Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*, (Aldershot 1990) essay viii; there are enough references to Jewish *ballesteros* and police to make it plain that Jews were not totally excluded from armed service in Christian Spain at this period.

⁵² J.-F. Cabestany, 'Alfons el Cast', in *Els primers comtes-reis*, (Barcelona 1960) pp. 55–90, where considerable attention is given to the role of Provence in Alfonso's plans and policies.

⁵³ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 20–1, 28.

IV

So far we have examined the term *servus* and its multiple meanings, not all of which were demeaning. Given the presence at the Aragonese court around 1170 of Jewish treasury officials such as Jafia son of Davit de Monzón, it is not difficult to see some analogy between the Jewish *servi* of the king and the *ministeriales* who appear in Germany and some areas closer to Aragon such as parts of southern France. Perhaps indeed the simple explanation of the term in the Teruel *fueros* is that the law code was thinking in the first instance of Jews in the service of the Crown. And yet the law code extends its range far beyond the king's Jewish courtiers. Its statement about the Jews as *servi* of the royal fisc concerns all Jews, potentially all the Jews of Aragon, and not even those solely of Teruel. Moreover, we shall see that the king's Jewish civil servants were able to enjoy exemption from limitations placed by the Crown on the Jews. So at this point I want to explore a different avenue: the concept of the *servi fiscales*.

The term *servus fiscalis* has a very long pedigree in Spain. The *servi fiscales* in Visigothic Spain were a privileged group of royal slaves; they were employed in the service of the Crown, exercising functions not unlike those of some of the German *ministeriales* who held office in the imperial administration.⁵⁴ In a note attached to his edition of Gregory of Tours the Abbé Migne described this group in the following terms:

*suum quique opus exercebant, illique servi fiscales sive regales dicebantur, quos alii familias multas de domibus fiscalibus . . . Ibi enim erant agricultura, vinitores, pastores, coqui, pistores, etc., qui suum quique opus exercebant, illique servi fiscales sive regales dicebantur; quos alii familiam dominicam, alii ministeriales regios appellabant.*⁵⁵

The use of the term *ministeriales* here is striking, and serves as a reminder of the perhaps unexpected analogies between the court slaves of early Gaul and Spain and the unfree knights and civil servants of medieval Germany. However, it must be stressed that these

⁵⁴ P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, (Cambridge 1972) p. 52; Ch. Verlinden, 'L'esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 11, (1934) p. 345.

⁵⁵ Migne, *PL*, vol. 71, col. 410.

were slaves, and that there is no suggestion that by the twelfth and thirteenth century Jewish 'servitude' was understood to indicate slavery. Alongside the Visigothic slaves of the fisc there were slaves attached to the Church and to other owners.⁵⁶ Nor, as will be seen shortly, is there any obvious connection between Visigothic *servi fiscales* and Jews; several *servi fiscales* were wealthy enough to endow churches in Visigothic Spain. In any case the Visigothic rulers were notoriously intolerant of Jews, and it is inconceivable that they would have employed Jewish *servi fiscales* at court, particularly after the Visigoths abandoned Arian for Catholic Christianity in 586. (On the other hand, the Visigoths did occasionally attempt to enslave Jews on a large scale, probably with little success).⁵⁷

The issue is not whether there were Jewish *servi fiscales* in Visigothic Spain, but what the concept of a *servus* of the royal fisc entailed in the Visigothic period, and how it might have survived into twelfth-century Aragon. In Visigothic Spain, the power of the *servi fiscales* extended even over lesser slaves, for in some cases they had slaves of their own, or at any rate they might become involved in administering legal disputes between freemen and slaves; when they performed the military service for which they were liable, they were required to bring with them one in ten of their own slaves.⁵⁸ They could not emancipate their own slaves without the assent of the king.⁵⁹ There were priests who were legally *servi fiscales* and some of these *servi* apparently paid for the construction of churches.⁶⁰ Although slaves did not generally have the right to give evidence in court, this restriction was not surprisingly lifted for the king's *servi fiscales*.⁶¹ As in the Greek and Roman world, those slaves who had the necessary skills could rise to great heights in government service, but they were of course a very small minority.⁶² Nonetheless some of the *servi idonei* attached to the Crown were quite prosperous.⁶³

⁵⁶ MGH LL. I, *Leges Visigothorum*, (ed.) K. Zeumer, (1902), pp. 364, 479; Verlinden, p. 346.

⁵⁷ S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*, Cambridge, MA, 1937, does not refer to *servi fiscales*.

⁵⁸ King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, pp. 64, 75.

⁵⁹ MGH LL. I, p. 241; Verlinden, 'L'esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval', p. 345.

⁶⁰ King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, p. 68; PL 130, c456 [Conc. Tolet. III c15]; cf. Regino of Prüm, in PL 132, c371.

⁶¹ King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, p. 173.

⁶² King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, pp. 162–3.

⁶³ King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, p. 64.

The concept of fiscal slaves in fact can be traced back even further. Justinian's *Codex* cites a law of 371 concerning those who try to hide or steal a *servum fiscale*; they are to be liable to a fine of £10 of silver, as well as having to restore the slave to the imperial fisc.⁶⁴ It is clear that the *servum fiscale* in Justinian is a slave who is fully possessed by the imperial treasury, and the slave is being treated like any other chattel belonging to the imperial fisc, as a piece of property. Thus the term *servus fiscalis* certainly has its roots in Roman law, like so many of the concepts and practices enunciated by the Visigothic kings and their Church Councils. There is also a connection with the Jews here: a provision of the Theodosian Code dating to 339 addresses the question of what is to happen if Jews acquire non-Jewish slaves. If the slaves were neither Jewish nor Christian, they would be handed over to the imperial fisc. If they were Christian, the Jew risked capital punishment. In 384 a milder law was issued, according to which Jews could not acquire Christian slaves, and could not acquire non-Jewish slaves with the aim of converting them to Judaism (a widespread practice at this time); the penalty for breach of this rule was loss of the slave.⁶⁵ Visigothic legislation, under Roman influence, adopted an exceptionally severe stance on these issues.⁶⁶

The Third Council of Toledo of 589 and the Fourth Council of Toledo of 633 showed lively concern for Christian slaves in Jewish households, though taken as a whole the Visigothic legislation against Jews gathered in intensity and went far beyond the prescriptions of Roman law: its aim was to wipe out Judaism (and even to deny those of Jewish descent the right to hold office over Christians), whereas the urban *fueros* of the central Middle Ages has no difficulty in accepting that Jews live in the midst of Christian society.

What does the fiscal servitude of Visigothic slaves have to do with the Teruel ordinances? Certainly we can point to the survival of Visigothic law in the Mozarabic communities in al-Andalus, and its continuing influence on the legislation of some of the Iberian kingdoms in the central Middle Ages by way of the *Fuero Juzgo*. However, there are difficulties here. Ana Barrero notes that the *Fuero Juzgo*

⁶⁴ *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, (ed.) P. Krueger, vol. 2, *Codex Justinianus*, 15th ed., (1970) section 6, 1, 7.

⁶⁵ Cod. Theod. 16.9.1, (ed.) Mommsen-Meyer, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 896; Verlinden, 'L'esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval', p. 310.

⁶⁶ N. Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in medieval Spain. Cooperation and conflict*, (Leiden 1994) pp. 26-34.

had been forgotten in Aragon by the time Aragon emerged as power in northern Spain; it is thus not clear that it can be cited as a source.⁶⁷ G.H. Allen argued that the Visigothic base existed, but that local customary laws developed, out of which the written *fueros* emerged in the twelfth century; this would accord with the view that the Teruel and Cuenca codes are elaborations of existing practice.⁶⁸ But while the Visigothic law code did not identify Jews as *servi fiscales*, the survival of the basic concept of the *servus fiscalis* was assured as a result of the continued fascination of Iberian Christians for the decrees of the Visigothic Church Councils, in which the idea did appear. However, by the twelfth century the use of the term *servus* had broadened out far beyond the classical meaning of 'slave', to include also several very different groups: serfs and civil servants and, as has been seen, even unfree knights. In the Teruel statutes it is not surprising to find the term being used of rural serfs in the more traditional sense of the term.⁶⁹ But the point remains that it was possible for someone to be possessed by the Visigothic fisc while at the same time enjoying a high position in administration, as with the German *ministeriales*.

V

Another approach to our text is to examine the character of the remaining references to Jews and Muslims in the Teruel municipal statutes. We need to ask whether royal authority was expressed over the Jews in ways that implicitly assumed their possession by the king; in other words, whether other clauses than that analysed so far point to Jewish 'servitude', without necessarily using the term *servus*. We hear that Jews may not be summoned to appear in a Christian court on Saturdays (this was not by any means unusual legislation). In addition, Jews and Muslims were not to be permitted to attend the public baths on certain prescribed days: Friday suited Jews since they

⁶⁷ Barrero, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 4, n. 6; J. Lalinde, *Los fueros de Aragón*, (Zaragoza 1976) pp. 18–19.

⁶⁸ Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 1, pp. 6–7.

⁶⁹ Aznar, *Forum Turolü*, pp. 257–9, e.g. p. 259, #466: *De domino qui servum suum percusserit vel occiderit*. Clearly Jews do not fall into the same category as these *servi*, even if (or rather, because) they are *servi regis*.

needed to bathe on the eve of the Sabbath and it suited Muslims because it was their holy day. The law codes express concern that public bathing would give rise to undesirable mixing between the different religious groups.⁷⁰ Both Teruel and Cuenca forbade sexual relationships between Jews (or Muslims) and Christians, under penalty of death.⁷¹ This was not itself unusual. On the other hand, in legal disputes between Jews and Christians, two *alcaldes* were to be appointed in Teruel, one from each religion, and in the event of an appeal against those judges, four *alcaldes*, evenly divided between Jews and Christians.⁷² The use of the term *vecini* to describe both Jews and Christians is noteworthy; as has been seen, a loose translation might be 'citizens'.⁷³ The judges were to operate within the law code of Teruel; this was not an opportunity to try to make use of Jewish law, which would have been applied to cases between Jew and Jew.⁷⁴ Indeed, the contending parties had to swear to accept the Teruel code, and if either refused to do so, the case would not proceed.⁷⁵

The Teruel law code gave close attention to legal disputes that might arise between Jews and Christians over unpaid debts. Those Jews who failed to meet their obligations could expect to be sent by the *albedí* or senior Jewish judge *in regis carcere, en la cárcel del Rey*; but if they were Christians they were sent to a Christian place of detention (*in captione christiani*).⁷⁶ This distinction between the arrangements for captive Jews and Christians already points to the idea that the Crown had particular rights of possession in regard to the Jews; there appears to have been no Jewish prison (unless there is one we do not hear about, for cases between Jew and Jew). It is therefore exactly the sort of evidence we need to show that the idea of the Jew as the *servus fisci* is not simply an afterthought inserted at the end of the section of the law code dealing with Jews.

⁷⁰ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 142, #291.

⁷¹ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 13.

⁷² Cf. the comment by Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 13.

⁷³ As used by Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 160; also p. 164, #27.

⁷⁴ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 223, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1039; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 312, #539; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 60, xxix, #1 and Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 160.

⁷⁵ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 225, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1041; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 316, #553.

⁷⁶ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 224, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1039; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, pp. 312-13, #540-1; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 60, xxix, #2.

If a Jew became the debtor of a Christian his wife and children also became debtors of the same Christian; and so, were the Jew to die or flee, the burden of the debt would fall on his family. However, if a Christian took a loan from a Jew, the Christian's family would only have to bear the debt if that had been agreed at the time of making the contract: *si autem se debitores fecerint, pectet, cum necesse fuerit, ut est forum; mas si con él se fizieron debdores, pechen quando fuere huebos, asin como es fuero*.⁷⁷ We are looking at a society in which loans are taken from Jews, but in which the traffic goes both ways, and Jews may be in debt to Christians as well.⁷⁸ The legislators are careful to balance against each claim they can envisage being made by a Christian against a Jew, a possible claim by a Jew against a Christian; however, as can be seen, the responsibility of Jews for repaying debts was stricter than that imposed on Christians, since only in the case of Jews did liability automatically pass to the Jew's heirs. There may be several explanations for this. One is that Jews may have been more heavily engaged in trade and therefore in travel, and the likelihood of a Jewish merchant disappearing for good across the frontiers was therefore greater than the likelihood of a newly settled Christian *vezino* packing his bags and leaving. But there is no sense that the debts owed to deceased Jews revert to the Crown, as would have been the case in contemporary England; in this sense, certainly, royal proprietorship of the Jews was not pressed as far in Teruel as it was in other parts of Europe.

Cases involving Jews and Christians were to be heard not at the synagogue but at the gate of the bazaar (*ad portam alcacerie et non sinagoge, a la puerta de la alcacería et non delán la sinagoga*).⁷⁹ Powers interprets the term *alcacería* to mean the 'district of shops Jews rented from the king', which would perhaps imply that the Crown was invisibly present when justice was exercised in cases involving Jews: they were being judged on the king's ground, and not in a Jewish

⁷⁷ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 225, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1041; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 316, #554; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, pp. 62–3, xxix, #17.

⁷⁸ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 224, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1040; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, pp. 313–15, #543–9; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, pp. 61–4, xxix, #7–22.

⁷⁹ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 225, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1041; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 316, #552; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 62, xxix, #15.

sanctuary.⁸⁰ However, cases were not to be heard on the Jewish Sabbath, nor on the festivals of the Jewish religion (*excepto sabbato et eorum ceremoniis iuxta legem, sacado el sábado et lures fiestas, segunt la ley*, with *lex* here meaning 'religion').⁸¹ A limit was placed on the amount that could be charged in interest by a Jew who granted a loan to a Christian: *quia usura non debet crescere nisi duplum, que el logro non deue creçer si no el duplo*; and later: *pecunia autem usure, postquam duplata fuerit, amplius no lucretur, mas el auer del logro, después qu'él fuere duplado, más non logre*.⁸² Jews and indeed Muslims were not to trade in weapons, an interesting reflection of the widespread attempts to ensure that Jews and Muslims do not normally bear arms, though Powers may be right to suggest that this clause still did not exclude the use of arms by Jewish and Muslim conscripts to the local militia.⁸³

It is at the end of the section of the law code dealing with the Jews that we find the reference to Jews as *serui regis*. As has been seen, the issue at this point is what happens when a Christian attacks or even kills a Jew. The penalty is fifty *solidi* if the case is proved. In the Teruel code it is not immediately indicated to whom this sum is payable, but we do know from what follows that the answer is the one given explicitly in the code of Cuenca at this point: *regi*, 'to the king'.⁸⁴ If the Jew is harmed but not killed, then it is sufficient for the *adversarius* (in this case the Christian) to give evidence under oath, and he is to be believed. If a Jew hurts or kills a Christian the penalty will be decided by the court of Teruel; if the Jew only harms the Christian, he must again swear an oath and his testimony is to be believed.⁸⁵ If a Christian is killed and a Jew accused of the

⁸⁰ Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 161.

⁸¹ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 227, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1042; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 318, #561; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 64, xxix, #24.

⁸² Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 226, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, pp. 1041-2; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, pp. 316-17, #555; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 63, xxix, #19-20.

⁸³ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 227, #425; Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, pp. 318-19, #563; cf. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1042, n. 6; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 64, xxix, #27, and Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, p. 12.

⁸⁴ For a comparison of the texts, see Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1043.

⁸⁵ Barrero, *El Fuero de Teruel*, notes (p. 67) that 'el homicidio de judío por cristiano mientras en #34 es considerado como homicidio entre vecinos, en #425 impone una calaña de 500 sueldos que no es fijada por el fuero, al tratar este delito'; see Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 16, #34: *Si cristianus iudeum occiderit. Similiter si*

crime, then the testimony of twenty Jewish *vicini* will be required for his release (Cuenca requires twelve, not twenty, Jewish citizens).

*Set est sciendum, quod iudeus non habet partem in sua calumpnia, sive sit percussione sive homicidii, quia est domini regis tota.*⁸⁶ *Nam iudei servi regis sunt et semper fisco regio deputati.*⁸⁷

Or in Aragonese vernacular:

*Mas a saber es que el judío no a part en su colonia, o sea de ferida o de omjçilio, que del sennor Rey es toda. Qual los jodíos sieruos son del sennor Rey et siempre a la real bolsa son co[n]tados.*⁸⁸

The *pars* referred to here is the money payable in cases where a Jew attacks or is attacked by a Christian. The reservation to the Crown of rights over homicide is a rare concession in a code which seeks to legislate for Teruel without much reference to royal rights. As has been seen, the laws concerning Jewish debts contain the problem of repayment within the community, and make no reference to the rights of the Crown.

For this is legislation on the new frontier, in a world where the prime need is to create a self sufficient community able to organise its own affairs and to withstand any threats from al-Andalus. It is also a society in which individual freedoms are greater than might have been the case in long settled Christian territory, as so often is the case on the medieval frontier; and this can be seen as much with the Jews as with the Christians. Although Jews do not have absolute equality of status with Christians in the Teruel laws, the general character of the legislation is to balance the privileges accorded to Christians in their dealings with Jews with similar rights conferred on the Jews. Similar comment can be made about the other municipal charters and law codes of this period, issued by Alfonso I or Ramon Berenguer IV, as for example that of Escalona (1130), that of Calatayud (1131) or that of Daroca (1142).⁸⁹ Sometimes they are

cristianus iudeum uicinum occiderit, uel iudeus cristianum, sit ut dictum est superius pro uicino alio iudicatum.

⁸⁶ The Cuenca manuscripts have *tota* or *totam*.

⁸⁷ Aznar, *Forum Turolii*, p. 228, #425; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 1043; cf. Allen, *Forum Conche*, part 2, p. 65, xxix, #30-1.

⁸⁸ Gorosch, *El Fuero de Teruel*, p. 320, #568.

⁸⁹ T. Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas de los reinos de Castilla, Leon, Corona de Aragón y Navarra coordinada y anotada*, tomo 1, (Madrid 1847)

less generous rights in respect of the Jews (as for instance in the stipulation that debts descend to wives and children), but the value attached to Jewish testimony and even to Jewish judges and their verdicts, reached in conjunction with Christians, testifies to a society in which there did exist a genuine *convivencia* of Jew, Christian and Muslim.

VI

A final approach is to consider what other evidence, from elsewhere in the realms of Aragon or Catalonia, supports the statement that the Jews are *servi regis*. Here we shall concentrate mainly on the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV as count of Barcelona and prince of Aragon, and in particular on that of Alfonso II as ruler of Aragon and Catalonia. However, there is also one passage from the reign of Alfonso VII of Castile that deserves special mention. In the *fuero* of Calatalifa granted by the king in 1141 we read:

*Quicumque vero de populatoribus Calatalifae (exceptis Mauris et Judaeis) tendam in sua haereditate fecerit, eam semper iure haereditario possideat. Maurus vero, et Judaeus si ibi haereditatem fecerit, sit de palatio.*⁹⁰

Verlinden interpreted this to mean that 'le Maure ou le Juif qui acquerra un héritage dans cette localité deviendra esclave du roi (*sit de palatio*)'. This seems an extreme interpretation of the term *de palatio*, but it is possible to agree that here too is a sign of Jewish dependence on the royal fisc. The Calatalifa clause probably indicates that the concept of the Jew (and the *mudéjar*) as in some sense a royal possession was diffused across the Iberian peninsula before the Teruel law code explicitly stated that Jews were *servi regis et semper fisco regio deputati*.

Statements that point some way in the same direction as the Teruel statutes are not hard to find. In 1142, the city statutes of Daroca, which had a significant Jewish community, insisted that *Christiani, judaei, sarraceni unum et idem forum habeant de ictibus et calumniis*, another

pp. 462, 487, 537; R. Esteban Abad, 'Fuero de Daroca, 1142', *Estudio histórico-político sobre la ciudad y comunidad de Daroca*, (Zaragoza 1959) pp. 361-72.

⁹⁰ Muñoz, *Colección de Fueros Municipales*, p. 532.

piece of evidence that suggests the existence, in the twelfth century, of less sharp barriers between the communities than developed later on.⁹¹ It is likely that Daroca provided an original working set of statutes for Teruel, until the Teruel *fuero* was drawn up and confirmed by the king.⁹² In 1144 too, at Monzón, Ramon Berenguer IV issued a charter in favour of the Aragonese Jew Zecri de Barbastro (al-Zakri), in which he called him *meo judeo*. Zecri was granted a piece of land *propter servicia, que michi fecisti et cotidie facis*. This is unlike the concept that appears in the Teruel laws, where all Jews are the king's; here the count of Barcelona and *princeps Aragonensis* possesses an individual Jew, in a certain sense, and that Jew performs *servicia*; he is, in a real sense, a Jewish version of a *ministerialis*.⁹³ Indeed, it is possible that the term 'my Jew' conveys no stronger a force than the term 'my *baiulus*' or *meo alfachino* (the latter used of the Jew Profet, the former of the Jew Jafia).⁹⁴ However, the term 'my Jew' was by no means used in all cases of grants to Jews, as can be seen from the well known grant of the right to construct a bath house in the count's garden in Barcelona, of 1160.⁹⁵ We can compare the use of the term *servus regie camerae* by later rulers of Aragon-Catalonia to refer sometimes to individuals (as under Peter the Great), and sometimes to all Jews or *mudéjares*.

In 1170 King Alfonso II of Aragon granted his *baiulus* Jafia ('Afiyyah or Yahya) *propter multa servicia* two pounds of mutton each day of the week for the rest of his life from the Muslim slaughterhouse of Lleida.⁹⁶ This is a surprising grant, because, while Muslims would generally eat kosher meat from animals slaughtered by Jews (the market regulations of Almoravid Seville however tried to forbid Muslims from buying meat from Jews in around 1100),⁹⁷ Jewish law did not permit the consumption of *halal* meat prepared by Muslims.

⁹¹ Muñoz, *Colección de Fueros Municipales*, p. 537; Baer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden*, p. 13, #22; also Verlinden, 'L'esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval', p. 446n.

⁹² Lalinde, *Fueros*, p. 38.

⁹³ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 14, #23; see also p. 11, #18.

⁹⁴ Jafia: Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 27, #37; Profet: Baer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden*, pp. 35, 37, #46, 47.

⁹⁵ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, pp. 22–3, #33.

⁹⁶ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 27, #37.

⁹⁷ C. Melville and A. Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 3, *Arabic sources*, (Warminster 1992) pp. 110–15, especially the text by ibn 'Abd al Ra'uf, pp. 112–13: 'Muslims are forbidden to buy meat intentionally from the bucheries of the *dhim-*

Nonetheless, this could just as well have been meat for Jafia's Muslim servants, or maybe there was a kosher stall in the Muslim market. Baer refers to several other acts in which Jafia, the son of Davit de Monzón, was rewarded by the king for his *servicia*; this or another Jafia even held from the king an *alfondegá* in Tortosa, which passed in 1176 to the monastery of Poblet.⁹⁸ Interestingly, documents concerning Jafia do not generally define him as *Jafia judeus*, even though it is clear that he was a Jew. And indeed those who rose high in the royal administration were able to escape from the burdens that fell upon the shoulders of Jews; in religion they remained Jews, but in legal status they had moved closer to the Christians, by virtue of special royal grants to them and their families.

This can be seen from the privilege of 1180 to Avubrahim Avenbenuinist (Abu Ibrahim ibn Benveniste), the brother of the king's *alfaqui* Profet.⁹⁹ Once again it is *propter multa servicia, quam mihi fecisti* that the grant was made; it exempted the beneficiary from all the taxes that would be imposed on 'other Jews'. Avubrahim Benvenist was to be exempted from the obligation imposed on other Jews to swear oaths to Christians *in carta*, which elsewhere is described as on the *atora* or Torah.¹⁰⁰ Anyone who harmed Benvenist by ignoring the provisions of the grant was to pay the king (not Benvenist, it will be noted!) a thousand *morabetini* and would lose the king's *amor*; for it was understood that to break the terms of the privilege was to challenge the king's decrees. Alfonso II also granted the Jews of Tortosa the freedom to offer services either to him or to R. de Montcada or indeed to any other appropriate lord.¹⁰¹ Here the words *serviendi mihi* and *servicium* are used. Peter II in 1210 confirmed the rights granted by his father to the Jews of Calatayud, describing them as *judeos nostros*.¹⁰² A similar term was used to describe the Jews of Huesca in a royal privilege of 1211.¹⁰³ Thus it is the idea of the Jews as 'my' or 'our' Jews that survives; the term *servi regis* and references to the fisc do not explicitly appear.

mis'; also see ibn 'Abdun's strictures in É. Lévi-Provençal, *Seville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle*, (Paris 1947).

⁹⁸ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, pp. 27-8; also pp. 30-1, #40.

⁹⁹ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, pp. 37-8, #47.

¹⁰⁰ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 10, #17.

¹⁰¹ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 39, #48; also pp. 39-40, #48a.

¹⁰² Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 68, #75.

¹⁰³ Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, p. 71, #78.

VII

The Teruel formula concerning the Jews, *iudei servi regis sunt et semper regio fisco deputati*, leads to a number of conclusions. This concept was diffused throughout Aragon and Castile as a result of the widespread imitation of the *fueros* of Teruel and Cuenca; manuscripts of municipal *fueros* which refer to the Jews as *servi* and which mention their dependence on the royal fisc, *bolsa* or *mesa* were still being copied throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *fueros* had a long life. And so did the idea of the Jews as in a sense royal property. Town governments were not to be allowed to usurp the special rights of the Crown over Jews, even though in a frontier society the degree of royal interference in the daily affairs of Jews, as of all citizens, was very limited.

In the thirteenth century we can observe the first use by an Iberian monarch of the term *servi camere regie*, applied to Jews in Peter III's new conquest, Sicily, at about the same time as the phrase was being applied to the Muslims of Lucera in Apulia by Charles II of Anjou. This exact term was of German origin, and can be traced back to the court of Frederick II, though its roots lie further back in time, revealing analogies to the status of the German *ministeriales*, or unfree knights, and expressing as well the Augustinian idea of the Jew as someone who has lost Divine grace and dominion, and is fated to wander the earth and serve his younger brother, the Christian. Conceptually, the term *servi regie camere* added nothing to the idea of the Jews as *servi* of the king attached to the royal fisc expressed in the Teruel *fueros*; and indeed the phrase *ad fiscum imperatoris pertinent* had been used by Frederick Barbarossa in 1179, though in later formulations the term *camera* replaced *fiscus*. But it became a standard formulation in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon, used to denote Jews and *mudéjares*, alongside the term 'Royal Treasure'. Thus what we see is the convergence of a large number of themes and ideas: theological concepts; social relationships familiar in the German Empire; perhaps too the residue of Roman legal ideas concerning the *servus fiscalis*, perpetuated by the Visigoths. The highly influential *fuero* of Teruel marks an important moment in the evolution of the concept of Jewish 'servitude' and dependence on the royal fisc or *camera*. It is clear that, in the Iberian kingdoms, this concept was freely available some decades before Frederick II first enunciated it in 1236. Its existence in the Spanish kingdoms in the late twelfth

century has been to all intents ignored by historians whose primary assumption was that the concept was first clearly enunciated under Frederick II in his German realm. But it is also evident that the Teruel formulation set in stone an idea which already possessed a long pedigree in the Iberian peninsula: the concept of Jews and Muslims as *de palatio* has already been encountered at Calatalifa in 1141.

Finally, a few speculations on the later manifestations of this concept in the Iberian peninsula are appropriate. The Jew could not exercise authority over Christians, as, for example, the *Corts* of Catalonia insisted in 1285 when they demanded the dismissal of the king's Jewish financial advisers as the price to be paid for their support against the French invasion.¹⁰⁴ Yet Jews continued to exercise significant functions, especially in financial administration, in Aragon, Castile and Portugal. However, as the king's *servi* any authority they exercised was not theirs but the king's. They were agents of royal power, and exercised no power of their own. They identified with the monarch to the extent that Jewish courtiers adopted the coat of arms of Castile as their own, and used it on their seals. In a sense, this was an expression of their dependence on the king, as much as it was a statement that they had become Jewish *hidalgos*. Jews certainly benefited from the advantages of royal protection, whether in times of tumult, when pogroms threatened, or in times of peace, when their economic activities brought the Crown much needed resources. Yomtov Assis argues, in fact, that the proprietorship of the Jews by the Aragonese kings 'contributed to the relative stability enjoyed by the Jews of the realm till 1391'.¹⁰⁵

This study of a single line in the Teruel law code has sought to trace the complex origins of a concept which grew in importance as time passed, both for Jews and for subject Muslims. In 1176 the Jews could easily enough combine 'servitude' with citizenship. This combination nicely expresses the fundamental ambiguities of *convivencia* on the Christian-Muslim frontier in the years around 1200.

¹⁰⁴ D. Romano, *Judios al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragón, 1276-1285*, (Barcelona 1983).

¹⁰⁵ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, p. 9.

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PART THREE

MINORITY AND MAJORITY INTERACTION

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LOVE BETWEEN MUSLIM AND JEW IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN: A TRIANGULAR AFFAIR

David Nirenberg

Since the rise of Islam and until modern times, the great majority of interaction between Jew and Muslim has taken place in lands ruled by Muslims, and under Islamic rules of engagement. The most significant exception to this is the Iberian Peninsula. As large populations of Muslims were absorbed into Christian polities in the course of the so-called reconquest, there emerged in the Peninsula what might be termed an Islamic diaspora of Muslim communities under Christian rule. This status, called *Mudejar* by modern scholars, had many interesting consequences.¹ One, of little importance to the history of Islam but quite relevant to the history of Jewish-Muslim relations, is that for the first time since the Jews' encounter with Muhammad in Medina we have Jewish and Muslim populations living side-by-side, engaged in relations that are openly competitive because mediated by Christian and not Muslim power.

Here I propose to study only one small aspect of these relations, namely love (or more accurately, not love but its bureaucratic traces, found in disputes over interfaith adultery, conversion, and marriage). The choice needs some justification, since the number of examples of such relations is vanishingly small when compared with, for example, economic exchange. My first justification is intellectual. In the cultures I am studying here as in so many others, love and marriage were foundational metaphors, ruling allegories capable of expressing "deep truths" about other relationships and forms of exchange.² My second is personal: cross-cultural love seems an appropriate subject

¹ The literature on the Mudejars is vast. For a recent and brief synthesis of the peculiarities of "Mudejar Islam", see my "Varieties of Mudejar Experience: Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000–1526", in P. Linehan and J. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World*, (London 2001) pp. 60–76.

² It seems superfluous to footnote something so well known and so widely attested. Those who favor scripture may look to the *Song of Songs*, those who prefer anthropology to C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, (ed.) R. Needham, (trans.) J.H. Bell, J.R. von Sturmer, and R. Needham (Boston 1969) e.g. pp. 67–8.

through which to pay homage to Elena Lourie, whose pioneering observations about Muslim-Jewish relations in the medieval Crown of Aragon helped inspire these researches.

We will soon find that, in affairs of love as in so many others, Muslims and Jews in Christian Spain³ were not in an exclusive dialogue. Theirs was a triangular relationship, in which the Christian suitor, though sometimes silent, was never absent. Nevertheless, it is worth pausing to review the long traditions of Jewish and Muslim legal thought on the topic of sex and marriage with members of other religions. For Jews in particular, problems of sexual interaction with non-Jews have been (and still are) a constant concern in a long history of living among other peoples. Their authoritative texts, like sedimentary strata, preserve varied opinions on the subject, opinions reflecting particular historical situations and very much tied to questions of power and hierarchy. It was one thing to be exogamous in a position of power, quite another in a position of weakness, yet another when the situation was genuinely competitive. The sex of the Jew involved mattered as well: being a receiver of "brides" was different from being a giver. The rabbis who compiled the Mishnah and the Talmud were quite aware of these differences. In one striking passage from the Babylonian Talmud, for example, they wrestled with the fact that the biblical passage upon which Jewish restrictions on intermarriage were based applied explicitly only to intermarriage with people from seven tribes that had ceased to exist shortly after the conquest by the Israelites of the Holy Land, more than a thousand years before:

The biblical ordinance [against intermarriage] is restricted to the seven nations [of Canaan] and does not include other heathen peoples; and [the schools of Hillel and Shamai] came and decreed against these also. . . . Perhaps the biblical ordinance refers to an Israelite woman in intercourse with a heathen since she would be drawn after him, but not against an Israelite man having intercourse with a heathen woman, and they [court of the Hasmoneans] came and decreed even against the latter. . . . The decree of the Hasmoneans was against intercourse but not against private association, so they came and decreed even against this.⁴

³ The term is an anachronism, but I utilize it occasionally for the sake of familiarity and convenience.

⁴ *Babylonian Talmud*, Tractate 'Avoda Zarah 36b, Soncino translation.

The Talmudic passage is remarkable in that it treats the evolution of sexual boundaries within historical time (a lesson we will attempt to emulate here). Nevertheless, the rabbis tended to level all such distinctions. Living in exile among more powerful peoples, acutely aware of the dangers of assimilation, aculturation, and conversion, the rabbis systematically prohibited nearly all types of sexual relations with non-Jews, often by generalizing quite specific biblical prohibitions.⁵

The sociological and theological importance of these prohibitions were quite evident to medieval rabbis. As Maimonides put it, "... it is in these matters that the Omnipresent one has sanctified us and separated us from the heathens, namely in matters of forbidden unions and forbidden foods...".⁶ Like the rabbis whose discussions are preserved in Talmud, Maimonides understood the elaboration of the Torah's prohibitions on intermarriage to many other forms of intercourse as something of a historical process, and he approved of that elaboration "as a precaution, lest such intercourse should lead to intermarriage".⁷ He approved as well of zealots who, like Pinehas, kill Jews engaged in public miscegenation, though his equation of public with ten or more Israelite witnesses rendered the approval more theoretical than practical.⁸ Later Iberian rabbis, such as Yehuda ben Asher ben Yehiel of Toledo and Nahmanides, continued to inveigh against Jewish men who practiced "harlotry with the daughter of a foreign God", and invoked the zealots against them.⁹

⁵ This drive toward endogamy struck a number of ancient non-Jewish observers, the most prominent of which was Tacitus: "They eat and sell apart from others . . . , they do not make unions with alien women". (*Histories*, V.5)

⁶ Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Introduction. (see n. 7) Though for some purposes (and after much debate) the rabbis chose to define Muslims and Christians as non-heathens (e.g., for business purposes such as the lending of money or the selling of cattle), within the context of miscegenation there was no such relaxation. See also J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*, (Oxford 1961) pp. 32-36, and Chapter Four.

⁷ Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Sefer Kedushah [SK] XII.1-10 [L. Rabinowitz and P. Grossman (trans), *The Code of Maimonides, Book Five: The Book of Holiness*, in *Yale Judaica Series* vol. 16, (New Haven 1965) pp. 80-83]. The quote is from XII.2.

⁸ For Maimonides' approval of the zealots, see SK XII.4-6, 14. For early rabbinic discomfort with Pinehas' actions, see *Jerusalem Talmud*, Tractate Sanhedrin 27b.

⁹ R. Yehuda ben Asher, *Ẓikhron Yehuda*, (Berlin 1846) no. 91. In no. 63 he invokes the zealots against such men. For Nahmanides' "Whoever goes astray with a Gentile woman desecrates the covenant of Abraham," see H.D. Chavel, *Kitvei Rabenu Moshe ben Nahman*, vol. 1, (Jerusalem 1964) p. 370. Cf. *The Zohar*, II, 3a-b [cited in Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I (Philadelphia 1978) p. 262], and II, 87b. For additional citations see B. Dinur, *Yisrael ba-Golah*, vol. II, 4, (Tel Aviv 1969)

Muslim men enjoyed a good deal more freedom within their tradition than Jewish men did, at least in theory. According to classical Islamic jurisprudence, Muslim men could have intercourse with and even marry Christian or Jewish (as well as Zoroastrian) women. All children issuing from such relationships were considered Muslim. Muslim women, on the other hand, could not marry or have intercourse with non-Muslim men.¹⁰ This law was predicated, first on the assumption that the male was the dominant force within a “mixed” relationship, and second, on Muslim political superiority, for it depended on the power of Muslim courts to enforce certain hierarchical relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. Nevertheless, it continued to be stipulated as normative by Mudejar law codes in Christian Spain, even though it could clearly not be observed.¹¹ Only in handbooks of religious instruction like the so-called *Breviario Sunni*, written by Yçe de Gebir, a Segovian Muslim, in 1462, did Muslim authorities recognize that the situation had changed: “whether men or women, they shall not sleep with nor marry infidels”.¹²

pp. 291–92; L. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism*, (New York 1948) pp. 172–3. See especially Yom Tov Assis, “Sexual Behavior in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society”, in A. Rapaport-Albert and S. Zipperstein (eds), *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, (London 1988) pp. 25–59, here pp. 38–41. See also M. Saperstein, *Decoding the Rabbis: A Thirteenth Century Commentary on the Aggadah*, (Cambridge, MA 1980) pp. 96, 246; and I. Epstein, *Studies in the Communal Life of the Jews of Spain*, 2nd ed., (New York 1968) p. 88, citing Rabbi Solomon ben Adret of Barcelona.

¹⁰ For a summary of these rules see J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, (Oxford 1964) pp. 131–32. For specifically Maliki law on the subject (the school of law most influential in Muslim Iberia and North Africa), see D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafito*, (Rome 1925–38) vol. 1, pp. 207f. The Maliki school was perhaps the strictest on the question of mixed marriages, especially if they occurred in lands not ruled by Muslims. See especially K. Abou el Fadl, “Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities”, *Islamic Law and Society* 1.2, (1994) pp. 141–187. There is plenty of evidence that such marriages, even when they were entirely legal, could underwrite a great deal of anxiety in Muslim Spain. A number of Nasrid kings of Granada, for example, were killed by rebels alleging that their Christian maternal ancestry made their loyalty suspect.

¹¹ See for example the fourteenth-century Castilian mudejar law code transcribed as *Leyes de moros del siglo XIV*, (ed.) P. de Gayangos, *Memorial Histórico Español* V, (Madrid 1853) title 14, p. 20. The late fourteenth century Valencian *Llibre de la çuna e xara*, (ed.) C. Barceló, (Córdoba 1989) here p. 90 assigns the death penalty to married Muslim males who commit adultery, no matter what the religion of their accomplices. Similarly, unmarried males who sleep with unmarried females receive the same number of lashes regardless of the religion of the women.

¹² *Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la ley y çunna por don Içe de Gebir* . . . (= *Breviario sunni*): “Ni duerman, ni casen con ynfieles, asi hombres como

This unruffled continuity of legal norms masks the profound shift that Christian conquest produced in the possibilities for interfaith sexual relations in Iberia. Normative halakhic texts might insist on endogamy, Shari'a ones on the permissibility of Muslim male exogamy, but in fact new configurations of power encouraged some forms of sexual interaction and discouraged others. The opinion of Yehuda ben Asher ben Yehiel quoted above, for instance, was issued in a context [Toledo ca. 1280] that also produced poems like this famous one by Todros Abulafia:

... Yea, one should love an Arab girl
 Even if she's not beautiful and pure.
 But stay far away from a Spanish girl
 Even if she's radiant as the sun!
 Her clothes are filled with crap and crud,
 Her hems are blotted with her uncleanness.
 Her harlotry is not taken to heart; she is
 So ignorant of intercourse she knows nothing.
 But every Arab girl has charm and beauty
 She knows all about fornication and is adept at lechery.¹³

I quote this well-known poem to make two fairly obvious points. First, whatever the normative position of rabbis, interfaith intercourse was a very real possibility for Jews living under Christian rule in medieval Spain. Second, that intercourse was most likely to occur between Muslims and Jews, and not only because of Todros' claim that in the art of "harlotry", Arabs were erudite and Christians rustic.¹⁴ Probably equally important was the fact that Christians ruled Todros' Toledo, and Christian laws forbidding the sexual mixing of Jew (or Muslim) with Christian were vehemently enforced.¹⁵ With

mugeres". See P. de Gayangos (ed.), *Memorial Histórico Español* V, (Madrid 1853) pp. 247–421, here p. 341. The most recent study of the *Breviario* is that of G. Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yŷa of Segovia (fl. 1450), his Antecedents and Successors*, (Leiden 1994) pp. 115–33 and passim.

¹³ Note that this is a polemic in which Yehuda had the upper hand. On Todros' precarious position, see R. Brann, *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*, (Baltimore 1991) Chapter Five. The translation of Todros' poem is from Brann, *The Compunctious Poet*, p. 145.

¹⁴ It is true that, as Américo Castro pointed out long ago, there was a literary culture of the erotic in Arabic (and later Hebrew) that was generally lacking in the Latin and vernaculars of peninsular Christians. See his *The Structure of Spanish History*, (Princeton 1954) pp. 318–322.

¹⁵ For some of the issues involved in sexual intercourse between members of

regard to sex between members of minority groups the law was much less clear, the outcome more subject to negotiation. Todros' aesthetic judgments were therefore informed by a taste for safety as well as by a literate eroticism.

Thin though our evidence is, it does allow us to trace across some two centuries (from ca. 1280 until 1492) the negotiations triggered by sexual intercourse, and especially by marriage and conversion, between Muslims and Jews in Christian Iberia. The result is less a single harmonious composition than a diptych, marked by a sharp stylistic transformation at midpoint, that is to say circa 1400. Before the fifteenth century, Muslim and Jewish communities appear to have been comparatively free to compete in the sphere of love, with their competition mediated by Christian fiscal rather than spiritual interests, and the outcome generally dependent on the relative economic and political power of the two communities. For a number of reasons, that balance of power initially favored Jewish access to Muslim women rather than the other way around.

Partly, this was due to the Muslims' status as a conquered people, a conquest that was not only political, but also sexual.¹⁶ Muslims were themselves aware of this, as when the late fourteenth-century mufti Ibn Miqlash exhorted mudejars to emigrate to Muslim lands, since under Christian lords they could not protect the chastity of their women.¹⁷ Partly, too, it was due to the fact that the Muslim communities remaining in Christian lands were predominantly rural and agricultural, their political influence fragmented among a multiplicity of Christian lords, whereas Jews depended largely on the king. Third, and perhaps most important, the important role that war played in justifying slavery meant that Iberian Muslims were much more susceptible to enslavement than either Christians or Jews. Even native mudejars, though protected by law, could legally be enslaved as punishment for a great variety of crimes.¹⁸ One of these

minority and majority communities see my *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton 1996) Chapter 5.

¹⁶ For a very general treatment of this issue see R. Trenchard, *Sex and conquest: gendered violence, political order, and the European conquest of the Americas*, (Cambridge 1995).

¹⁷ H. Buzineb, "Respuestas de juriscónsultos maghrebies en torno a la inmigración de musulmanes hispánicos", *Hespéris Tamuda* 26–27, (1988) pp. 53–65, here pp. 59, 63.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*, (New Haven 1977) pp. 50–51; R. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, (Princeton 1973) p. 252; E. Lourie, "Anatomy of Ambivalence: Muslims

crimes was, in fact, interfaith adultery, and Muslim communities insisted on the punishment as a way of disciplining the sexuality of Muslim women.¹⁹ Since Muslim slaves were commonly owned by Christians and Jews, and since sexual intercourse with one's slaves was a common practice throughout the medieval Christian and Islamic world, these circumstances virtually guaranteed that most cases of interfaith sexuality would involve Muslim women and Christian or Jewish men.²⁰

The Jews were not, of course, the conquerors of the Muslims, and their status vis-à-vis their *mudejar* neighbors was much less clear, and consequently much more competitive, than that of Christians.²¹ But Jews did have several advantages in this competition, especially in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. First, the Jews were not a conquered people subject to enslavement, except in the theoretical sense that they were in perpetual "servitude" to the monarchy. Second, Jews were frequently owners of Muslim slaves. And finally, because of their service to the monarchy, they could sometimes exercise a good deal of financial and political power over Muslims living in the peninsula's Christian kingdoms.

under the Crown of Aragon in the Late Thirteenth Century", in her *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Aragon*, (Aldershot 1990) pp. 62–68. Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale*, vol. 1, (Bruges 1955) and M.-T. Ferrer i Mallol *Els sarraïns de la Corona Catalano-Aragonesa en el segle XIV: segregació i discriminació*, (Barcelona 1987) provide many other examples.

¹⁹ The Muslim *aljama* of Valencia, for example, purchased from King Peter the Ceremonious confirmation of its privilege that whenever a Muslim woman was found guilty of sexual intercourse with a non-Muslim she would be condemned to death without possibility of monetary remission. For the edict of 1347 confirming the execution of Muslim adulteresses, see ACA:C 884:167r–v, published in M.T. Ferrer, *Els Sarraïns*, p. 271. For an earlier example, see ACA:C 61:101v (1283/4/23), in which the Muslims of Xàtiva ask that the prohibition on adultery between Christian and Jewish men on the one hand, and Muslim women on the other, be enforced. The death penalty was almost always commuted in such cases to enslavement.

²⁰ When sex with slaves involved only people from within the household, it did not usually result in disputes at law. Cases involving outsiders to the household were much more conflictual. Hence James II's edict, issued at the request of the city of Valencia and other towns of that kingdom, forbidding anyone from having sex with an owner's slave unless they were of the owner's "parentela" [ACA:C 219:321r (1321/5/1)]. On sex with slaves more generally see J. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, (Chicago 1987) p. 518. Of course the relationships expressed and established through such sex varied greatly within and across the three religious communities we are discussing.

²¹ For a broader treatment of this competition see my *Communities of Violence*, Chapter 6.

This last point deserves some elaboration. In order to exploit their conquests, the conquerors needed trustworthy and bilingual officials. For this they might draw upon Muslim elites in the lands they had conquered, but they could also call upon the Jews. Fluent in both Romance (Spanish, Catalan, Aragonese) and Arabic, without any loyalty to the Islamic polities across the frontier, completely at the mercy of their Christian lords, the Jews were both qualified and dependable (because dependent). Hence we find them in the vanguard of Christian reconquest. The Muslim chronicler Ibn 'Idhārī provided an early example when he complained (somewhat improbably) that in the 1090s the Cid Rodrigo Díaz appointed a Jewish minister to govern the city of Valencia after its conquest:

The Jew—God curse him—caused the Muslims to suffer the most cruel vexations, and others of his coreligionists became enraged against the [Muslim] Valencians, who attained the heights of the greatest humiliation. Jews also were the tax collectors, officials, scribes of the chancery, and those employed in land and sea services. A Jew acted as magistrate, and as such sentenced [Muslims] to punishment of whipping or lashes.²²

Ibn 'Idhārī presented the Jews' behavior as the product of Jewish enmity toward Muslims, but it was rather a symptom of a new political reality, one in which the Jews returned to Muslim lands as allies of, and sometimes administrators for, the Christian conquerors. In such a capacity Jews could come to occupy positions of authority over Muslims. When James I conquered the kingdom of Valencia in the mid-thirteenth century, for example, he did not hesitate to grant some of its lands to Jews, or to utilize their services as bailiffs and tax officials over his Muslim (and Christian) subjects in the kingdom.²³ At much the same time Fernando III and Alfonso X of Castile settled Jews in their newly conquered city of Seville, giving them three mosques to convert into synagogues: a grant whose symbolism would, I suspect, have been particularly galling to Muslim observers (though so far as I know none commented upon it).²⁴

²² Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 5, A. Huici Miranda (trans.) in *Al-Bayan . . . Nuevos Fragmentos Almorávides y Almohades*, (Valencia 1963) pp. 99–100. The translation is from N. Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, (Leiden 1994) p. 134.

²³ On the role of Jews in the thirteenth-century administration of Valencia see R.I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade exploitation of Islamic Valencia*, (Princeton 1975) *passim*.

²⁴ The most recent treatment of this grant (and of a very interesting fourteenth

In short, Muslims sometimes found Jews in positions of authority over their own communities. Even when such authority was indirect (as it most often was), it could be formidable. No medieval Muslim or Jew would have been surprised by the advice of Queen Elionor of Catalonia-Aragon to her son Prince Martin in 1374, when she told him to ignore the complaints of several Muslim aljamas about the weight of their debts to the Valencian Jew Jafuda Alatzar. After all, Jafuda alone paid more taxes to the Crown than virtually all the Muslim communities of the kingdom of Valencia combined.²⁵

Of course these asymmetries (in affluence, political influence, and the prevalence of slavery) are only a few of the many that differentiated Muslim and Jewish communities. (Contemporaries, for example, often noted that the Mudejars had powerful external Muslim polities capable of negotiating on their behalf, whereas the Jews did not.) They are, however, the ones that seem to me most important in explaining the prevalent direction of sexual traffic between the two communities in the period before 1400. In the relatively frequent cases where Jewish men had intercourse with Muslim women (most often slaves), their exogamy was generally risk-free. On the other hand, we very rarely find documentation of Jewish women having intercourse with Muslim men. Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel wrote of a young woman named Leah, who had been captured by raiders and taken to Muslim lands, where she converted to Islam and married a Muslim. Other than attempt to ransom the captive before they occurred, there was little that the Jewish community could do about a case like this one, occurring in Muslim jurisdiction. (In fact the dispute submitted to Asher was about the ransom money that had already been collected, now rendered superfluous by Leah's apostasy).²⁶ Within the Christian kingdoms, however, the community could and did bring considerable power to bear, as they did in the case of the Zaragoza Jewess Oro de Par, threatened with disfigurement and exile for her

century case) is by H. Ecker, "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues in Seville: the Case of the Mezquita de la Judería", *Gesta* 36.2, (1997) pp. 190–207.

²⁵ The queen's advice is from ACA:C 1582:107r–108r (1374/11/1). The tax contributions are from a war subsidy request of 1363, ACA:C 1185:219v–221r and 1187:212v–214r. See J. Riera i Sans, "Jafudà Alatzar, jueu de València (segle XIV)", *Revista d'Història Medieval* 4, (1993) pp. 65–100, here pp. 76, 79.

²⁶ *Sefer She'elot w-teshuvot le-ha-Rab Rabbenu Asher*, (Zolkiew 1602) no. 32, 6. See the discussion in M. Orfali, *Los conversos españoles en la literatura rabinica*, (Salamanca 1982) p. 23.

transgression with Muslims and Christians.²⁷ Jewish communities were quite successful in using their resources and influence to restrict Christian male access to Jewish women in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.²⁸ As far as Muslim men were concerned, their victory was total.

There was, however, a good deal of sexual intercourse between Jewish men and Muslim women. I have written about some of these cases elsewhere, but it is worth revisiting them so as to heighten the contrast with the fifteenth century material that follows. Such intercourse was, of course, bitterly opposed by Muslim communities. We have already seen how the Muslim *aljama* of Valencia, for example, purchased King Peter's confirmation of its privilege that whenever a Muslim woman was found guilty of adultery (here defined as any sexual intercourse outside of marriage) with a non-Muslim the death penalty would be imposed without possibility of monetary remission.²⁹ In individual cases, action was often taken by the families and communities of the women involved. A Muslim woman of Zaragoza named Amiri was twice caught in intercourse with Christians and Jews. Both times her community intervened on her behalf, preventing her sale into slavery in exchange for her promise to cease committing adultery with non-Muslims. When she was again found yet again in the Jewish quarter committing adultery with Jews, the two communities came to blows, "wishing to kill each other over her". This time she was convicted, and sold to a Christian for 120 sous, with the proceeds divided between the Crown and the informant who had denounced her.³⁰

²⁷ For the case of Oro de Par, which occurred in 1356, see ACA:C 691:127r-v. Circa 1319 a correspondent wrote to Rabbi Asher, asking permission to punish by disfigurement a Jewish woman from the region of Segovia who had born two children (twins?) to a Christian. (The son had died, and the daughter had been siezed by Christian authorities). The punishment was proposed so that the Torah not be dishonored in the eyes of the gentiles. See F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, vol. II, (Berlin 1936) pp. 138-9. In both cases the proposed punishment involved cutting off the nose.

²⁸ Thus in 1277 the Jews of Calatayud obtained a charter fining any Christian male caught by witnesses in bed with a Jewish woman 300 maravedis, and giving the Jewish community the right to arrest him. See ACA:C 39:155r-v, published in J. Régné, *History of the Jews in the Crown of Aragon*, (eds) Y.T. Assis and A. Gruzman, (Jerusalem 1978) document X. No Muslim community could have consistently enforced such a privilege.

²⁹ See above, note 20.

³⁰ For the case of Amiri, which occurred in 1301, see C. Orcástegui and

Amiri's case touches on two disadvantages that Muslim communities faced in their struggle to maintain sexual boundaries vis-à-vis the Jews. The first was the prevalence of mudejar prostitutes. The relatively large number of Muslim women involved in prostitution had nothing to do with asymmetries of power between Muslims and Jews. It was rather a complex by-product of the interaction between Christian exploitation of Muslim women and mudejar concerns with the honor of kin-group and community.³¹ But once these women became "public females," there was little Muslims could do to prevent their intercourse with Jewish men. Occasionally one finds cases like the one reported in Huesca in 1444, where a group of Muslims seized a Jew they found visiting a brothel in the Muslim quarter, stripped him, and left him naked in the street.³² Such violence was relatively rare, in part because it was severely punished (the Muslims of Huesca paid a heavy fine); and in part because the activities of Muslim prostitutes did not raise serious reproductive challenges for the community, since the offspring of a prostitute seem to have followed the mother's religion *faut de mieux*. (I know of no specific cases, but there is indirect evidence. St. Vincent Ferrer, for example, criticized Christian patrons of Muslim prostitutes for leaving the souls of the children whom they engendered to languish in the damnation of their mother's religion).³³

E. Sarasa, "El libro-registro de Miguel Royo, merino de Zaragoza en 1301: una fuente para el estudio de la sociedad y economía Zaragozana a comienzos del siglo XIV", *Aragón en la Edad Media* 4, (1981) pp. 87–156, here pp. 111–112. See also Lourie, "Anatomy", p. 71.

³¹ The role of Muslims in the world of prostitution is well documented, though relatively unstudied. The richest treatment is that for the fifteenth century of M. Meyerson, "Prostitution of Muslim women in the Kingdom of Valencia: Religious and sexual discrimination in a medieval plural society", in M.J. Chiat and K.L. Reyerson (eds), *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, (Minnesota 1988) pp. 87–95. On the fourteenth century see Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, pp. 348–351. On the numerical prominence of Muslim prostitutes in thirteenth century Valencia, see F. Roca Traver, "Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval (1238–1338)", *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 5, (1952) pp. 115–208, here p. 161. See also chapter 5 of my *Communities of Violence*.

³² The case, recorded in Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca Pr. 83, ff. 264v–265v (1444), is cited by A. Conte Cazcarro, *La aljama de moros de Huesca*, (Huesca 1992) p. 41. The religion of the prostitute is not mentioned, but she is unlikely to have been a Christian, since if she were the Jew would not have dared go to the authorities with his complaint.

³³ St. Vincent Ferrer, *Sermons*, (ed.) J. Sanchis Sivera and G. Schib, 6 vols, (Barcelona 1932–1988) here vol. 5, p. 250.

Amiri's enslavement points to a second difficulty: the prevalence of unfree Muslim women in non-Muslim households. For Muslim women like Amiri who were enslaved as punishment for sexual crimes, sexual exploitation by their new owners was probably a matter of course. Occasionally they might even be made to work as prostitutes, with their earnings going to their owners. But the preservation of sexual boundaries was difficult even for the many Muslim women who came to the slave markets from abroad or by the fortunes of war (as Leah had done in the opposite direction), since owners' intercourse with slaves was a common practice in the Mediterranean.³⁴ Again there was little specific to Muslim-Jewish relations here, but since Christian law did not allow Jews to own Christian slaves, those in the few Jewish households wealthy enough to afford them would have been Muslim or pagan (e.g. Tartars).

Most of the surviving cases of interfaith sex, conversion, and marriage arise from this setting of servitude within Jewish households. Though sharply hierarchical, these relationships could produce strong passions. In one convoluted case from Zaragoza, for example, a Jew was accused of poisoning his son because they were both in love with one of their Muslim slaves. The son, it was said, had threatened to convert to Christianity if the father did not stop sleeping with the slave.³⁵ Nevertheless, the steep differences of status within the household were significant. The inclusiveness of the term *familia* (household) is meaningful, but it should not be forgotten that importance disparities of status (e.g. slavery and freedom) and religion separated Jewish and Muslim members of the household. These divisions could, but need not, be overcome through intercourse. Jewish sex with Muslim slaves could lead to concubinage, conversion, the integration of offspring, even marriage. It could also remain a starkly asymmetrical relationship.

³⁴ See Nirenberg, *Communities*, chapter five, p. 141; and Lourie, "Anatomy", p. 71. On Jewish attitudes toward Muslim concubines in Aragon, see especially Assis, "Sexual Behaviour", pp. 36–40.

³⁵ ACA:C cr. Jaume II, box 30, #3804 (1311/2/15), a similar version of which is published in F. Baer, *Die Juden*, vol. 1, (Berlin 1929) pp. 201–203, from ACA:C 239:18v–19r. Conflicts between father and son over intercourse with a slave had an ancient Mediterranean pedigree, and were often addressed, for example, in Islamic hadith collections. See, for example, the *Muwattā'* of Imam Mālik, Book XIV, Chapter 324, nos. 1096–99.

For an example of “integration”, we can look to Chresches de Turri and his kinsmen, Jews of Girona, who purchased a license from King James II in 1321 permitting them to circumcise a Muslim boy who was the child of Chresches by a Muslim slave, and convert him to the Jewish religion. Chresches’ Gironese ancestor Abraham de Turri made a much more horrible choice some forty years earlier, suffocating his two children by one of his Muslim slaves.³⁶ At about the same time, in Huesca, the Jew Cecrim Abraham seems to have attempted to maintain something of an intermediate position. His female Muslim slave had converted to Judaism after bearing him a child. Cecrim was trying to establish ownership over the child, that is, to keep him in the status of slave. He argued that “according to the custom of the city” the children born from the union of a Jewish master and Muslim slave belonged to the master. The convert claimed that her conversion retroactively enfranchised her offspring. Cecrim, on the other hand, insisted on the priority of her servile and non-Jewish status at the time of delivery.³⁷ Assimilation, murderous exclusion, the maintenance of the status quo: all were potential outcomes of these relationships between master and slave.

Nevertheless some outcomes were more normative than others. Wherever contemporary evidence penetrates the timeless condemnations of a Rabbi Yehuda or a Nahmanides, it is apparent that rabbinic authorities favored the regularization of sexual relationships between Jewish men and Muslim women through conversion and through the granting of full legal rights to the concubine/bride. Such

³⁶ For the circumcision, see ACA:C 385:19r: “. . . concedimus de gracia sp[ecialiter] vobis . . . possitis in civitate predicta, videlicet in calle judayco ipsius civitatis, quandam filium cuiusdam sarracene serve et captive vestre facere judeum et ad ritum pervertere judeorum et ipsum facere circumscidi, iuxta legem et consuetudinem ebreorum” (1321/12/17). For the suffocation, see ACA:C 62:136v–137r (1285/3/15), published in Régné, *History*, pp. 428–430: “Item quod tu, dictus Abraham, sufocasti duos infantes natos de quadam sarracena, que a te ipsos suscepit. Item quod tenebas publice in domo tua quandam sarracenam de Palia nomine Axian in tuo contubernio, cum qua habebas rem, quociens volebas et que a te suscepit plures partus”.

³⁷ ACA:C 67:1r (1286/5/1) [= Régné #1543]: “. . . Cecrim Abnabe (?), judeus Osce, genuit genuit (sic) ex quadam sarracena sua quandam prole, et quod fecit ipsam sarracenam converti ad legem judaycam, et quod est consuetudo civitate Osce si aliquis judeus generat prole ex sarracena captiva sua [. . .] proles quam ex ea habeat pertenuit ad [. . .]”. The conversion may well have enfranchised the mother. Cf. Assis, “Sexual Behaviour”, p. 39.

arrangements need not have been rare. We know, for example, that some Jewish communities pronounced bans upon Jews who had Muslim concubines but did not marry them “with bethrothal and *ketubah* (marriage contract)”. In one *responsum*, a Jew argued that he should be allowed to continue living with a concubine he had converted from Islam to Judaism and married, even though he had not given her a *ketubah*. Solomon ibn Adret disagreed.³⁸ But despite such attempts at systematization, it seems likely that the majority of these relationships remained unformalized because (as in the case of sex with slaves) they were customary and unremarkable, or because they fell between jurisdictional cracks. When Abulfacem, a Jew of Mula [Murcia], and his Muslim concubine Axona were arrested by the king’s brother and procurator in Murcia, the couple jointly appealed to the king. He ruled that they should be allowed to cohabit unmolested, since neither was a Christian, a ruling which makes explicit the relatively unregulated nature of Muslim-Jewish sexual relations.³⁹

When such relations led to conversion, however, they came up against more structured barriers. We have already seen how Chresches de Turri thought it prudent to purchase a royal license before converting his son by a Muslim slave.⁴⁰ When the conversion involved a free Muslim woman with roots in a *mudejar* community it could be much more conflictual. The case of Maria is the best documented.⁴¹ She surfaces anonymously on the 12th of August of 1356, when, at the request of the Jews of Lleida, King Peter ordered his

³⁸ Adret, vol. 5, #245. The concubine involved in this incident was probably not a free Muslim, at least not before the marriage. For more general comments on Jewish attitudes toward concubinage, see Assis, “Sexual Behavior”, p. 62.

³⁹ ACA:C 110:34v (1298/3/26): “. . . Unde cum supradicte persone alienni [?] sint a lege nostra et non videamus causam propter quod vos de facto huiusmodi intromittere debeatis. . . .” My thanks to M.T. Ferrer for the reference.

⁴⁰ The purchase of such licenses was not rare. Perfet Gravei of Barcelona bought one in 1292 in order to convert a Muslim slave called Hauha (ACA:C 260:97r [1292/6/25]), as did the community of Barcelona collectively for the conversion of the Muslim Lopello de Serrah Mahomet in 1361 (ACA:C 905:68 [1361/1/4]). That the practice was standard is suggested by a fine levied in 1386 against two women of Alicante for “conversion without license” from Islam to Judaism. They apparently received no other punishment. (ACA:RP, MR 1722:49r, cited in Ferrer, *Els sarraïns*, pp. 82–83).

⁴¹ Maria’s case was first noted, and partially documented, by J. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, pp. 351 f. See also my “Maria’s Conversion to Judaism”, *Orim: A Jewish Journal at Yale* 2, (1984) pp. 38–44; *Communities of Violence*, pp. 185–87.

bailiff there to release a Muslim woman arrested for converting to Judaism. The conversion, according to the king, was not a crime punishable by imprisonment.⁴² Two weeks later, the king issued the following privilege to Martin Eiximin:

We hereby grant and concede to you, the said Martius, all rights which we do hold, or might or should hold over Maria, a Jewess who had been a Muslim, both for her having recently abandoned the religion of perfidious Muhammad and embraced the law of the Hebrews, and for the crime of adultery which she is alleged to have committed with Jews while still a Muslim. . . . And we accord and allot to you, the said Martius, full power and authority to settle with the said Muslim on that amount of money upon which you shall be best able to agree with her, . . . as well as [authority for] absolving and sentencing this Jewess for the aforesaid and whatever other crimes may have been committed by her. . . .⁴³

The privilege itself makes no effort to prioritize the two charges, conversion/apostasy and interfaith sexual contact, nor to fix the convert's identity ("said Muslim"/"this Jewess"). But in its two year effort to repeal the lenient treatment accorded Maria the Muslim *aljama* of Lleida proved to be quite aware of where the legal advantages lay. In a document issued in May of 1358, the Muslims asked King Peter to intervene against any Christian who attempted to obstruct the punishment of a Muslim convert to Judaism, as had presumably occurred in Maria's case. They argued that according to a "general constitution of Catalonia recently published and enacted at Tarragona, no Muslim man or woman should dare in any manner to convert to the law of the Jews, and that if any Muslim violates this he shall incur both corporal and financial punishment". According to the Muslims, the license accorded by the king to a recent conversion (Maria's?) harmed the *aljama* by encouraging others who might be thinking of converting.⁴⁴

By focusing on Muslim-Jewish apostasy, where the law was relatively clear, rather than on Muslim-Jewish miscegenation, where it was not, the *mudejars* hoped to raise the barriers between Muslim

⁴² ACA:C 690:31v (1356/8/12).

⁴³ ACA:C 899:60r (1356/8/22), published and translated in Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, pp. 351–2, 442. Adultery here may refer to the practice of prostitution without royal license.

⁴⁴ ACA:C 691:232r (1358/5/18). See *Communities of Violence*, pp. 185–6, and cf. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p. 380.

women and Jewish men. The Muslims of Lleida might have found support for their arguments in the opinions of distinguished lawyers like Oldradus de Ponte (d. 1337?), who may himself have spent some time teaching in Lleida, and who asked the following question in a *consilium*: “A Jew went over to the sect of the Saracens. The Question is put, should he be punished”? In the first instance, the question seemed as trivial to Oldradus as Abulfacem’s case had seemed to James II: “Evidently not, since we tolerate both sects. If each is in a state of damnation it does not matter to which sect he belongs because there is no distinction between equivalents . . .”. Oldradus did not stop there, however, and his second argument was much less symetrical. If apostasy is a turning back, a movement from the better to the worse, then Jewish conversion to Islam was not apostasy, since “the Saracen sect is not as bad as that of the Jews, according to the word of the Lord . . .”. “The Church makes sufficiently clear that they are worse, for when it prays on Good Friday for all people there is no genuflection for Jews, though there is for pagans [i.e., Muslims]”. In the case of Jewish conversions to Islam, Oldradus’ reasoning is clear: they are not to be punished. He left the question of conversions in the other direction ambiguous, since they were not at issue in this case.⁴⁵

A hundred years later that ambiguity would be definitively eliminated, and in favor of Islam. But it is interesting that before 1400, Muslim efforts to criminalize conversion to Judaism were largely in vain, despite the existence of rulings like Oldradus’, and of quite explicit civil laws like the “constitutions of Tarragona” mentioned above. Even in the most conflictual cases, where we know that *mudejar* communities worked very hard to have the convert punished, they rarely succeeded, both because the Jews might pay even more to have the Muslims’ privilege overturned, and because influential Christians might intervene to defend the convert. By the late fourteenth century we find Muslim women like Jamila and Simfa, who converted to Judaism in 1386, facing only the inconvenience of having to pay a fine.⁴⁶ In the long run, however, the Muslim strategy

⁴⁵ On Oldradus, see W. Stalls, “Jewish Conversion to Islam: the Perspective of a *Quaestio*”, *Revista Española de Teología* 43, (1983) pp. 235–251; N. Zacour, *Jews and Saracens in the Consilia of Oldradus de Ponte*, (Toronto, 1990) pp. 21–2, 42–3, 77. The translation here is by Zacour, pp. 42–3. The biblical reference is to *Matthew*, 11:24.

⁴⁶ See the reference in note 39, above.

proved prescient, in that it gave their communities access to an emerging Christian clerical anti-Judaism, with its attendant desire to circumscribe the spheres of Jewish activity in Christian society.

In fact within little more than a generation of Jamila and Simfa's conversion, the situation was completely reversed. After 1400, a Muslim woman's conversion to Judaism and marriage to a Jew, far from going unremarked or occasioning a mere fine, was certain to become a cause celebre. The fifteenth-century cases I have found are few, but they achieved much notoriety and occupied the attention of some of the greatest theological minds of the age. In them the scope of the transformation is amply clear. By the end of the century it was the right of Jewish women to convert to Islam that Christian authorities were defending, not the reverse.

The first case, from sometime in the first half of the century, involves the affair of a young Muslim woman from Talavera with a Jew from that town and her eventual conversion to Judaism, an event which apparently provoked a "great and scandalous discord".⁴⁷ The document contains few details of the conversion itself. The Muslim woman is not named, and we are told only that Yuda, a Jew from Talavera, "took a young moorish woman from her father's house and converted her to Judaism", and that he had been "mixing" sexually with the young woman for some time before the conversion.⁴⁸ Instead, the two sides (Christian clerics on behalf of the

⁴⁷ See Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, ms. Res. 35, ff. 101r(b)–112v(b), which preserves the arguments against the conversion made by the Dean of Talavera, the Prior of Santa Catalina, and Fernando Alonso, a canon of the town; and those in favor of it by the Jews of Talavera and their lawyer. My thanks to Kathryn Miller for telling me of the manuscript and providing me with a microfilm. On this dispute see my *Communities of Violence*, pp. 191–95, and (appearing simultaneously) A. Gómez Moreno, "An unknown Jewish-Christian controversy in fifteenth-century Talavera de la Reina: Towards the end of Spanish Jewry," in A. Menéndez Collera and V. Roncero López (eds), *Nunca fue pena mayor (estudios de literatura Española en homenaje a Brian Dutton)*, (Cuenca 1996) pp. 285–292. The manuscript was apparently copied (at the request of Alfonso de Cartagena?) from the original records of the proceso held in the Archbishop of Toledo's court f. 101r(b): "Recibi una letra . . . en que me enbiava pedir aquel proceso . . . sobre el judio que avia tornado la mora judia . . . sobre la qual fue nacido aquella grande discordia." On the scandal, see f. 101r(b); 101v(a). For a brief description of BNM Res. 35, see H. Santiago-Otero and K. Reinhardt, "Escritos de polémica antijudía en lengua vernácula", *Medievalia* 2, (1993) pp. 185–195, here pp. 193 f.; and, with less detail, H. Santiago-Otero, "The *Libro declarante*: an Anonymous Work in the Anti-Jewish Polemic in Spain", *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division B, vol. 2, (Jerusalem 1990) pp. 77–81, here p. 77.

⁴⁸ Fol. 101v(b): "...saco una moça mora de casa de su padre e la torno judia,

Muslims on the one hand, the Jews and their Christian lawyer on the other) concentrate entirely on the legal and theological question of whether or not the conversion is permissible. (I will return to the substance of the arguments in a moment.)⁴⁹

Probably at much the same time as the Talavera disputation, the famous canonist and bishop of Avila, Alfonso de Madrigal "el Tostado", (1410–1455) wrote an opinion ("responsio") on the following subject: "A woman of Sarracen lineage and of the Sarracen faith, at the instigation of a Jewish man with whom she was sexually involved, professed the Jewish faith . . . and was solemnly received into the Jewish congregation or synagogue by Jewish rabbis". Is such a conversion permissible, and if not, who is to be punished for it? The bishop's answer occupies 25 double columned folios, and is definitive (as well as repetitive) in its conclusions: the conversion is not to be allowed, and the Jews are to be punished.⁵⁰

Together, these two treatises make clear that Christian attitudes toward Muslim conversions to Judaism had changed dramatically, and that the very highest echelons of the peninsular church were now militantly arrayed against them. How should we explain this shift? The answer is not, I think, to be found in the sociology of power I invoked in order to explain the pre-1400 situation. Despite a series of disasters such as the massacres and mass conversions of 1391 and the proselytizing and segregationist campaigns of the early fifteenth century, many of the economic and social conditions that had facilitated the conversion of Muslims to Judaism in the earlier period still existed. Even in the latter half of the fifteen-century, the

lo qual ser de consentimiento de ella o non no curamos. . . ." If rape or abduction was involved, it is not explicitly stated. That the Jew, "contra Dios e contra su ley, aya seydo mesclado, segund se dize ser notorio, mucho tiempo ante de esta muger. . .", is mentioned only as a further abomination.

⁴⁹ That Christian clerics are pleading on behalf of the Muslims is explicit throughout the document. For Christian participation on behalf of the Jews, see *inter alia* the signature of the *letrado* for the Jews on fol. 105r(b), and the reference in the rebuttal on 105v(a) to "... un escripto que por parte de los judios, non sabemos si por algun xristiano . . .".

⁵⁰ University of Salamanca ms. 70, ff. 86ra–111vb. The treatise was not included in his *Opera Omnia*, 15 vols, (Venice 1507–30). See P.L. Suárez, "Los manuscritos de Alfonso Tostado de Madrigal conservados en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca", *Salamanticensis* 4, (1957) pp. 3–50; A. García y García, "La Canonística ibérica medieval posterior al Decreto de Graciano", *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España* 5, (1976) pp. 351–402, here p. 354.

Jews of Castile (where these two cases took place) were still more active than Muslims in royal administration. The Muslims of Granada obviously took Jewish power seriously as late as 1491, for as we have seen, they included in their surrender treaty with the Catholic monarchs the clause that "Their highnesses would not permit the Jews to have power or command over the Moors, or to be collectors of any tax".⁵¹ Moreover, throughout the century Jews continued to own Muslim slaves, and to wield the power necessary to enforce their rights over these slaves. In 1469, for example, armed Jews conducted a house-to-house search of the Muslim quarter of Murcia looking for fugitive slaves.⁵²

Without multiplying such examples, let me assert that the changed possibilities for Muslim-Jewish love, conversion, and marriage were not primarily a product of a shift in the relative power of Muslims and Jews. Rather, they reflected changes in the role these two religious communities (or rather, theological categories) played in the Christian theological imagination, and the increasing importance of these theological considerations in the Christian mediation of Jewish-Muslim relations.

A simple comparison of Oldradus de Ponte's position with those of Alfonso de Madrigal or the Talavera lawyers a century later makes the change clear. Oldradus had considered the problem of marriage and conversion in some sense trivial: "If each is in a state of damnation it does not matter to which sect he belongs because there is no distinction between equivalents . . .". But between Oldradus and the mid-fifteenth century there intervened the massacre and forced baptism of thousands of Jews in 1391; the segregations, disputations, and mass conversions of 1412–1416. These waves of violence and evangelization brought a number of conflicting Christian anxieties in their wake. On the one hand, Christians could and did take joy in the fact that through their efforts the ranks of Iberian Jewry had been halved. The disappearance of the Jews through conversion and massacre had long been anticipated as a marker of the advent of messianic time, and there were many who felt that such a time was

⁵¹ Translation of the treaty from L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500*, (Chicago 1990) p. 317.

⁵² Arch. Mun. Murcia, Lib. Actas, 1469–70, fols. 73–4, dated 11 Dec., 1469. Doc. #764 in Luis Rubio García, *Los judíos de Murcia en la Baja Edad Media (1350–1500)*, colección documental II, (Murcia 1997) pp. 14–15.

close to hand.⁵³ On the other, many Christians were becoming increasingly convinced that, rather than being defeated, Judaism had in fact triumphed. Through the nefarious actions of converts to Christianity who remained Jewish at heart, Christian Spain was being “conquered”, corrupted, and judaized.⁵⁴ Either way, a long-standing equilibrium had been broken. The many consequences of this breakage would eventually include the establishment of the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, and the creation of purity of blood statutes, to mention only a few of the more significant. But it is one of the less significant consequences that is my subject here: conversion and marriage between Muslims and Jews now took on a heightened theological significance. If the Jews were believed to be disappearing as the world slouched toward its final battle, then a Muslim conversion to Judaism assumed apocalyptic meaning. And if, to the contrary, Jewish power was thought to be gaining through the conversos an increasing hold on Iberian society, then a Muslim conversion became confirmation of that suspicion.

So far as I know (his writings are voluminous) Alfonso de Madrigal did not engage actively in any of the many debates about Jews and conversos that agitated his age. For example, unlike some of his illustrious episcopal contemporaries (e.g. Alfonso de Cartagena and Lope de Barrientos) he does not seem to have ruled on the legality of the anti-converso violence and discriminatory legislation issuing from

⁵³ On this association in general see most recently R. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia 2001), and specifically chapter 7, on the effects of the mass conversions on Francisc Eiximenis’ millenarian ideas. For another example see the charges made circa 1393 against Antoni Rieri of Lleida, who was accused, among other things, of preaching that the prophetic time had arrived “in quo omnes iudei debant interfici, ut nullus iudeus in mundo deinceps remaneret”. J. De Puig i Oliver, “La *Incantatio studii ilerdensis* de Nicolau Eimeric, O.P.”, *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 15, (1996) pp. 7–108, here p. 47. Of course the messianism of St. Vincent Ferrer, architect of the mass conversions of 1412–1416, is well known, and doubtless owed a good deal to the events of 1391. See most recently J. Guadalajara Medina, *Las profecías del anticristo en la edad media*, (Madrid 1996) pp. 232–247.

⁵⁴ These concerns broke violently into public discourse during the civil wars of the 1440s, and particularly during the Toledan revolt and massacre of conversos in 1449. For a detailed if tendentious narrative of these events see B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition*, (New York 1995). Two of the most important texts were published by E. Benito Ruano, “El memorial contra los conversos del bachiller Marcos García de Mora (Marquillos de Mazarambroz)”, *Sefarad* 17, (1957) pp. 314–51; and his “La Sentencia-Estatuto de Pero Sarmiento contra los conversos toledanos”, *Revista de la universidad de Madrid* (4th series) 6, (1957) pp. 277–306.

Toledo in 1449. Nevertheless, his “*Responsio in quaestione de muliere sarracena transeunte ad statum et ritum Iudaicum*” is very much marked by the times.

I should note that Alfonso was quite capable of taking love seriously as an explanation for religious *mesaliance*, at least when it occurred far away and long ago. In his commentary on *Judges*, for example, he lingered over Sampson’s transgressive predilection for Philistine women. His conclusions were exculpatory, even empathetic. Sampson suffered from love sickness, a disease that overwhelms volitions, and should not therefore be harshly adjudged for his actions.⁵⁵ He was not responsible. Confronted by the power of love in his own time, however, Alfonso took a very different approach indeed.

His treatise begins with the affair: a Muslim woman, at the suggestion of a Jewish man with whom she had “mixed carnally”, was solemnly converted by rabbis in the synagogue, the conversion attested by a Christian notary. Should this be tolerated, or should the woman, the Jewish lover, the rabbis and synagogue, even the Christian notary, be punished (and if so, how)? Alfonso’s answer is unambiguous: the conversion is not to be tolerated. [86rb] Just as the Jews are not allowed to build new synagogues, so they cannot create new “temples in the spirit,” i.e., new converts. [86va] Indeed it is worse to create new converts than to build new synagogues, for it is the observance of Jewish cult that is damnable, not the place in which the cult is observed. If law restricts the place of cultic observance, so much more should the person who carries out that observance be restricted. [87rb, 87va] Moreover the convert to Judaism is embracing a “detestable observance”, a “lethal sect that leads to eternal damnation. . . . And a cruel sect, . . . for those who observe it are cruel to their own souls”. [87va] It cannot be said that the convert is adopting a valid law (the term was used in medieval Spain for what today we call religion) or rite (*ritus*), for the Jews’ so-called law has been abrogated. [88ra] Through its observance you cannot be saved, and in fact all who participate in it are damned.

Alfonso repeatedly recognizes that there are some who would object, first that no crime has been committed, since as a Muslim

⁵⁵ The Sampson text was published in volume 10 of the *Opera Omnia*, pp. 248–9, but I have seen it only in the version given by P. Cîteira, *Amor y pedagogía en la edad media. Estudios de doctrina amorosa y práctica literaria*, (Salamanca 1989) pp. 189–90.

the woman was already damned and in a state of mortal sin; and second, that the “status of Muslim was more detestable than that of Jew”, so that “in going over to the Jewish rite she did not sin”. [88ra–rb, 93va–vb] His response to these objections is threefold. First, it is the act of choosing damnation that is here condemned, not the state of damnation itself. Those who are born into Islam or Judaism, though damned, are not so contemptible as those who choose such a religion of their own free will. [88va] Moreover, the act of choice itself entails an act of mortal sin that cannot be allowed. “It is like the case of a man who has his sister in concubinage. Then he relinquishes her and takes as concubine a woman to whom he is not related. . . . It is certain that the second status is less detestable than the first”, but nevertheless, “by accepting once more such a woman in concubinage he commits once more a mortal sin”, and such an action cannot be permitted. [88rb, 93vb] Or as he puts it later, we are commanded to choose the good, not the lesser evil. Stealing is a lesser crime than killing, yet we are not permitted to choose theft; homosexual sodomy may be worse than heterosexual rape, but Lot still sinned in handing over his daughters to the men of Sodom. [100ra] It does not matter here whether Judaism is superior to Islam or not. The sin lies in choosing damnation, and damnation cannot be hierarchicalized. [93vb]

Alfonso’s second response is perhaps more revealing: regardless of the relative merits of the two “damned” religions, the conversion constitutes blasphemy against the “true” one, Christianity. By converting to Judaism the Muslim woman explicitly manifests her belief that salvation can be found in Jewish faith and through Jewish ritual, and implicitly suggests that the Jewish faith is better than the Christian, that Jewish works are better than the Christian word. These two terrible blasphemies produced by her conversion are “a detestable sin, and this is the reason that is most pressing”. [88va–89a] Moreover through the conversion Judaism, a “status reprobatu” would seem “approbatu”, and Judaism would triumph over Christianity. To allow such blasphemy is to invite God’s angry retribution upon princes, prelates, and entire congregations. [89rb–89vb]

Thus far Alfonso’s logic seems oriented toward convincing those who are inclined to accept the superiority of Judaism over Islam that such considerations are irrelevant. He even goes so far as to respond to those who say that Islamic conversion to Judaism should be encour-

aged, since the latter is a religion closer to the true faith of Christianity. This argument is dangerous, according to Alfonso, because there is no salvation in Judaism. Would not converts be damned if they died in the intermediate state of Jewishness? [89va] Even if we were all agreed that Judaism was better than Islam, he repeats again and again [e.g. 94rb], nevertheless the act of conversion from Islam to Judaism should be prohibited, with infractions vigorously punished.

But of course Alfonso is far from convinced of such superiority himself. He reminds his readers that previous authorities, particularly Oldradus de Ponte and Ludovicus Pontanus of Rome, ranked Islam ahead of Judaism.⁵⁶ He repeats a number of their arguments, and adds an interesting one himself. The plight of the Jews, he asserts, is due to their murder of Jesus. It is because they crucified the lord that they are condemned by law to be slaves ("seruos") forever. It is as a consequence of this status that they are oppressed in special ways reserved for themselves alone, "ut se seruos agnoscant et sciant". [90rb] The badge they are forced to wear, their segregation during Holy Week, the ban on their owning Christian slaves, employing Christian wet-nurses, receiving testamentary bequests from Christians, holding public office: all these are opprobria reserved for the Jews as marks of the servitude they incurred through deicide. Alfonso's conclusion from these theological commonplaces is novel: how can we allow Muslims, who did not participate in the killing of the Lord, to be brought by the Jews into this status? [91ra]

While Alfonso chose to focus on the problematics of conversion itself, his contemporaries in the Talavera disputation took a different approach, one that highlights the second key change affecting Christian attitudes toward Muslim conversions to Judaism: the heightened tenor of Christian anti-Judaism in fifteenth-century Spain. At Talavera, the central issue is not so much about theological principles (e.g., is it permitted to posit a hierarchy of mortal sin?) as about the relative merits of the two minority religions. Here, the arguments made by the clerics of Talavera on behalf of the Muslims are instructive:

⁵⁶ Ludovicus Pontanus died of the plague at the council of Basel. Many of his *concilia* and *singularia* survive in fifteenth and sixteenth century editions, but I have not yet been able to locate the reference.

... The Jews, in the rites of their religion as they currently practice it, are to a great degree of worse condition and more damnable and more abhorred by the Lord, and more corrupting... of us, than are the Moors who live among us.⁵⁷

The Jews have rejected their prophets and become a synagogue of Satan, losing all title to Mosaic law and to the name of "Jews".⁵⁸ They are blasphemous, blind, and obstinate, willing followers of the Antichrist. The Muslims' "evil way of life", on the other hand, "is only a manner of bestial superstition and blind ignorance". Moreover, rather than blaspheme as the Jews do, the Muslims accept Christ. In fact, if the Church teaches that Muslims are to be avoided as much as Jews are, it is only because Muslims have been contaminated by Jewish ways, such as circumcision.⁵⁹ Muslim opposition to Christianity, in the past (Muhammad) as in the future (the anti-Christ) is the result of Jewish deceit. Being imitative, it is not as deeply rooted as that of the Jews, who are serpents seeking to poison Christendom. [108ra] Hence the Muslims are more easily converted to Christianity than are the Jews, and once baptised, make more sincere converts.

This last argument is revealing, marking as it does the power of new Christian ideologies to transform Jewish-Muslim relations. In making it, the Muslims' lawyers show themselves to be well informed about the key claims and proof-texts of the anti-Converso and anti-Jewish circles writing around Toledo in the 1440s. Converts from Judaism, they allege, are known to be especially prone to "return to their own vomit", and even once converted many are "vaniloqui e seductores". "We do not say this in order to introduce division among the sons of the Church, unitary and immaculate... for all are, after conversion, of equal condition and value... except insofar as the

⁵⁷ 107r(a): "... ca los judios en los ritos de la su observacio que agora biven son de peor condicïon e mas damnables e al señor mas aborrecidos e a nos mas infestos e enpeçibles en mucho grado que non sean los moros que entre nos biven".

⁵⁸ 107r(a-b). The key reference is to St. Augustine, Sermons on St. John the Baptist: "By denying Christ they denied Moses and the Prophets. Destroying him they destroyed them and lost the law." 107v(a): "...avemos de dezir que estos malditos de dios e obstinados non son judios ni pueblo de dios mas sinoga de sathanas...". (Cf. *Apocalypse* 2.9: "...ab his, qui se dicunt Iudaeos esse, et non sunt, sed sunt synagoga Satanae").

⁵⁹ The frequency of the Christian accusation that the Jews influenced Muhammad has often been noted, most recently by T. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, (Leiden 1994) pp. 42, 271-73.

personal virtue and nobility of some raises them, and the error and malice and villainy of others draws them down". Such baseness and error among converts is the "fruit produced by this damned synagogue of Satan", and of all this converts from Islam are innocent.⁶⁰

These claims were radical but chic, very much the latest in anti-*Converso* polemic. The Muslims' lawyers were clearly taking pains to protect themselves against the charge (championed by Alfonso de Cartagena, at whose request our transcript of the Talavera trial was probably copied) that such arguments introduced heretical division into the Body of Christ. They did so by insisting, as a number of Toledan writers had begun to do in the 1430s, that the problem was not one of sacramental theology but of lineage, that is of villainy versus nobility. This is not the place to explore the history of those claims. It is enough to note that the most up-to-date tools of mendicant anti-Jewish polemic were here being deployed on the Muslims' behalf.⁶¹

Of course not all aspects of the lawyers' argument were as novel or radical as the comparison of Jewish and Muslim converts. Claims about Muslim spiritual superiority to Jews had long been made, not only in learned treatises by churchmen like Oldradus, but also in vernacular works like the thirteenth century *Cantigas de Santa María*, where the Virgin works miracles for Muslims and makes clear her preference for Muslims over Jews.⁶² These comparisons often revolved, as at Talavera, around the well known fact that Islam accepted

⁶⁰ 108vb–109ra. "Vaniloqui e seductores": the reference is to *Titus* 1.10: "For there are many insubordinate men, empty talkers and deceivers, especially of the circumcision party . . .". The verse became an important anti-*Converso* proof-text.

⁶¹ Alonso de Cartagena's *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, (ed.) P. Manuel Alonso, (Madrid 1943) was one of a number of treatises arguing that this type of anti-*Converso* discourse was itself heretical. On the emergence of a lineage based critique of the conversos, see my "Mass Conversion and genealogical mentalities: Jews and Christians in fifteenth-century Spain", *Past and Present* 174, (2002) pp. 3–41; "El concepto de raza en el estudio del antijudaísmo ibérico medieval", *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 3, (2000) pp. 39–60.

⁶² The *Cantigas* emphasize Muslim respect for the Virgin. Cf. *Cantigas* 165, 169, 181, 329, 344. For the Virgin's explicit preference of Muslims to Jews, see *Cantiga* 348 "... dos iudeus, seus enemigos, a que quer peor ca mouros". (She sometimes prefers Muslims to Catalans as well, as in *Cantiga* 379). See M. García-Arenal, "Los moros en las *Cantigas* de Alfonso X el Sabio", *Al-Qantara* 6, (1985) pp. 133–151; and the articles of A. Bagby: "The Moslem in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X el Sabio", *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 20, (1973) pp. 173–207; "The Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X el Sabio", *Speculum* 46, (1971) pp. 670–688; and "Alfonso X el Sabio compara moros y judíos", *Romanische Forschungen* 82, (1970) pp. 578–583.

Mary's virginity after conception and considered Christ a prophet.⁶³ (The *Qur'an* itself stressed that the Jews had been damned because, among other reasons, they defamed Mary and refused to believe her, rejecting the prophecies of her son).⁶⁴ But these arguments had not previously been brought to bear effectively on questions of Muslim-Jewish sex and conversion. In the earlier period, as we have seen, other discourses had dominated, for example the fiscal one. The Talavera disputation is particularly revealing because it helps us to see how increasing anxiety about the place of Conversos in Christian society transformed an aspect of relations between Muslims and Jews. As the place of Jews in Christian religiosity changed, so did the meaning of Muslim-Jewish love and conversion in Christian eyes. Such relationships were no longer mere "minority affairs". They were now part of a triangular relationship in which the desires of Christian theologians played the dominant role.

In the context of the new religious anxieties and shifting hierarchies of the fifteenth century, powerful Christians had come to question the extent to which Jewish sex with Muslim women was a "natural" and therefore tolerable consequence of social and economic hierarchies. Over the course of little more than a generation, the sexual boundaries between Muslims and Jews had been redrawn, and by the end of the century, the direction of traffic across those boundaries would be reversed. In 1489, the Jewish aljama of Soria complained that a Jewish woman had converted to Islam and adopted the name Marien in order to marry Abrahén Caballete, a Muslim from Burgos.⁶⁵ Christian officials hastened to the defense of the newly

⁶³ See, eg, *Qur'an*, Surah 21 ("The Prophets") 91: "And she who was chaste, therefor We breathed into her (something) of Our spirit and made her and her son a token for (all) peoples" [Pickthall translation]; Surah 19 ("Mary") 27–34; Surah 4 ("Women") 155. Christian polemicists could, of course, exaggerate such affinities, as when the clerics of Talavera stated that Muslims believed that Mary remained a virgin after giving birth, a point not generally accepted among *mudejars*. On Iberian Muslim beliefs concerning Mary's virginity, cf. M. de Epalza, *Jésus otage: Juifs, chrétiens et musulmans en Espagne (VI^e–XVII^e s.)*, (Paris 1987) pp. 179, 182. Epalza provides an excellent survey of Muslim attitudes toward Jesus and Mary, though he does not ask how such material might be used by Muslims against Jews in a Christian context.

⁶⁴ Surah 4 ("Women"), 156: "And because of their disbelief and of their speaking against Mary a tremendous calumny . . .".

⁶⁵ The case is preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas [AGS], Registro General del Sello, 1489/11/12, fol. 146. The document is published in E. Cantera Montenegro, "Conflictos entre el concejo y la aljama de los judíos de Soria en el último tercio del siglo XV", *Anuario de estudios medievales* 13, (1983) pp. 583–599,

married couple and the Muslim *aljama*. The following year, at the complaint of a Jew from Guadalajara, the Catholic monarchs dispatched an official to arrest a Muslim *faqih* together with a number of Jews he was said to have converted to Islam. The investigation confirmed that a Jew named Salamo Çeano had indeed converted to Islam at the urging of Çide Açıan, “*alfaquí*”. But the Muslims produced documentation in order to support their argument that the conversion was not punishable according to either criminal or civil law. Their claim deserves citation in full:

The said Jew could turn Moor, and the said *alfaquí* and the other moors who solicited him could do so, and that this had been customary in these our kingdoms, and that many Jews had become moors and had not been arrested for it, as it appeared from the said rulings and documents, and that never until now had it been forbidden to them.⁶⁶

The actual number of conversions is as debatable as it is unknowable. The point here, however, is that the Muslims’ arguments convinced the monarchs, who allowed the conversion to stand and absolved the Muslims of any liability, even though they expressly forbade that henceforth any Jew convert to Islam, “under the same penalties as those incurred by moors who become Jewish”.

These conversions are the last I know of before the expulsions of 1492 put an end to such spiritual migrations between Judaism and Islam on Iberian soil. There are many questions one would like to put to the converts themselves, questions about motivation (they did not, so far as we know, involve love or marriage), conviction, belief. What worlds of struggle lie concealed beneath the limpid phrase “many Jews had become moors”? The decision to move between two oppressed communities, each so obviously *in extremis* by 1489, is surely overflowing with meaning. Here we must let much of that meaning escape us in order to keep hold of a simpler point. The conversions make clear just how thoroughly the possibilities for movement across the two communities had been altered over the course of a century.

here 597 f. The case is also discussed in C. Carrete Parrondo, “Judería soriana y morería burgalesa: una historia de amor”, in *Estudios Mirandeses* 8, (1988) pp. 57–61. Marien is the converts Muslim name. Her Jewish name is not recorded.

⁶⁶ AGS, Registro del Sello, 1490–V, fol. 400, 1490/5/15. The document, along with two others related to the case, is published by L. Suarez Fernandez, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, (Valladolid 1964) pp. 335–338, 340–41. The quote is from 341.

This transformation had many causes, some of them internal to the Jewish and Muslim communities. But the most important of these causes had nothing to do with how Jews and Muslims thought of each other, and everything to do with how Christians thought about themselves. By the mid-fifteenth century Spanish Christendom imagined itself engaged in a mortal struggle with Judaism, threatened from without by the Jews themselves, endangered from within by the conversos. In the context of this struggle and the torrent of anti-Jewish theological arguments it produced, conversion between Judaism and Islam took on new meanings and new dangers. Muslims were themselves quick to realize the polemical opportunities of this new world, and they (or in the case at Talavera their Christian lawyers) adopted a strategy of invoking Christ and the Virgin in their competitions with the Jews. Of course such invocations were not completely alien to more traditional Muslim criticisms of Judaism. But classical Islam tended to play down the role of the Jews as killers of Jesus, since according to Islamic tradition God had frustrated the Jews in their designs so that they had not actually killed him. As the Qur'an puts it, "[The Jews] schemed against Jesus, but God also schemed, and God is the best of schemers". [3:54]

Spanish Muslims were not so reticent. They went far beyond traditional Islam both in their devotion to the Virgin Mary, and in their expansion and embroidery of the Jewish role in the killing of Jesus. Numerous mudejar and morisco manuscripts survive detailing stories of Jewish conspiracies with the Devil to eliminate Jesus, and dwelling on the vengeance that would befall the Jews for this perfidy. By the mid fifteenth century, we can even say that Iberian Muslim polemicists had adopted all the central tenets of Christian anti-Judaism: 1) that the Jews crucified Jesus; 2) that the siege and destruction of Jerusalem were punishment for this act; 3) that the Diaspora and "servitude" of the Jews was evidence of their infidelity; and 4) that these unfaithful Jews would all be slaughtered at the end of Days.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ For a fourteenth century example see the *Ta'yid al-milla*, Arabic ms., Colección Gayangos 31, Real Academia de Historia de Madrid, also available in an edition by L. Kassin, "A study of a fourteenth-century Polemical Treatise *Adversus judaeos*", PhD dissertation, (Columbia University 1969). One of the boldest examples is much later, from the Granada of Phillip II, where Moriscos (descendents of Muslim forced converts to Christianity) forged Arabic texts purportedly written by Arab disciples of St. James the Apostle and hidden in Granada, that they might be revealed near

It is easy to see why, in Christian Iberia, Muslims in situations of competition and conflict with Jews might adopt Christian anti-Semitic themes that were relatively rare in regions under Islamic rule. We should not, however, forget the obvious. The Muslim deployment of these "Christocentric" arguments was effective only insofar as it coincided with the dominant concerns of Christian society and its rulers. In the fourteenth century the coincidence had been slight, with Christian rulers largely indifferent to *mudejar* concerns about conversion and intermarriage. In the fifteenth century, such issues had migrated to the forefront of Christian consciousness, and now resonated strongly with Muslim arguments. The transformation of the sexual boundaries between Muslim and Jew was only one result of this change in Christian consciousness, and numerically not a very important one. Its significance lies, not in numbers, but in the intimate way it reminds us that relationships between subordinate groups can rarely be viewed in isolation from the ideologies of the dominant.

the end of days as correctives to the corruption and sectionalism of Christianity. The forgeries sought to create a foundational role for Arabs in Christianity, and to represent Muslims and Moriscos as the guardians of true Christian religion and uncorrupted gospel. Aiming perhaps at the *conversos* (descendants of converts from Judaism), the texts explicitly denigrated Jews as deniers of Christ, and invented a prophecy for St. Peter that Jerusalem would be destroyed because of this denial. See M. Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte*, (Madrid 1980) pp. 123–24, 208.

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“MY MASTER, THE JEW”:
OBSERVATIONS ON INTERFAITH SCHOLARLY
INTERACTION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Thomas F. Glick

In what follows I want to suggest that the historiography of scholarly interaction among Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle Ages has suffered from both an inadequate conceptualization of personality and a myopic view of social interaction.

While a single text may represent a highly focused projection of ethnocentrism, as in the standard religious polemics of medieval times, that does not mean that the author was thereby displaying all of his personality. Rather, personality is multileveled and multifocal, and sensitive to a range of situational contexts.

Such considerations relate not only to personality but also to interaction. Here historians may be tempted to project either their own experience or their generalized views of social interaction in a given period onto an individual and to further assume that such norms of social interaction acted as constant constraints on behavior, valid in all situations. The tacit hypothesis here is that religious ideology is the immediate context of all social interaction. I would like to suggest that a more realistic way of interpreting social (and scholarly) interaction is one that is ideologically neutral. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Erving Goffman, presents social interaction as performances that members of one group (or “team”) present to members of another group, always with an eye to making an impression that will bring a favorable result. This kind of construction is particularly germane to interaction among medieval religious groups because Goffman stresses that roles in such interactions are altered by performers to fit in some way the audience’s expectation of their behavior. Thus Jews behave differently in interacting with Muslims than they do with Christians, based on their appreciation of the relative community of interest, cultural congruity, and so forth.

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I am not here suggesting that power relations are not primary; they are. Nor am I arguing that a benign *convivencia*, heretofore undetected, presided over interethnic scholarly relations; it didn't. I am arguing that scholarly relations, cordial and free of conflict, were a normal part of medieval intellectual and social life and that an older generation of modern historians, focused on polemical literature, presumed that all such interaction was hostile.

Many of the presuppositions underlying the literature of medieval interfaith interaction have been shaped by the bias of the literature of religious polemic and apologetics—diatribes, more or less hostile—directed by a member of one religion against another religious tradition. It is a mistake, however, to presume that such polemical literature describes a modal quality of the referent group of the author. It may; or it may more likely represent a partial representation of group attitudes. But the polemical literature by itself does not prove that. Polemical roles are tightly scripted: hypothetical dialogues between a Jew and a Muslim, a Christian and a Jew, produce the expected results. Epistemological modesty—the willingness to entertain the validity of someone else's epistemology—is rare in polemical literature: examples are Peter Abelard, in his *Dialogue*, where he interposes the voice of a "philosopher" between the religious disputants, and Ramon Llull who, in his *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, accords both Jew and Muslim an usual modicum of respect.¹

Two pervasive misperceptions in the literature of intergroup scholarly relations is, first, that polemical literature defines the relationship, and positive exchanges, including scholarly ones, are anomalous; and, second, that intellectuals are always in the polemical mode. As David Berger admirably documents, informal discussions among Christians and Jews, scholars and commoners, on theological issues were frequent, not rare, and friendly, not hostile. Thus Herman of Cologne provides an "impression of frequent religious discussions between ordinary Jews and Christians." Odo of Cambrai's account of an impromptu debate with a Jew reveals Christian on-lookers taking sides with the Jew: "These . . . are the reasons that I gave the Jew concerning the coming of Christ, having been forced to dispute

¹ H. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century*, (Leiden 2000) p. 94.

all the more subtly by certain Christians who took the part of the Jew.”² Business contacts often led to off-hand religious discussions. Gilbert Crispin in his “Dispute between a Jew and a Christian” remarked that the book “reflected amicable discussions that he had had with a Jewish acquaintance who came to him frequently on business and other matters, at which times they conversed about the Scriptures and issues of faith.”³ Jewish polemics also reflect informal discussions.⁴

To be sure, there were social and cultural norms and conventions that structured such interactions, but not the same norms as prevailed, for example, in staged disputations like those of Barcelona or Tortosa.

There is nothing unusual about all this. Intellectual exchange and collaboration among members of different religious groups were quite common in the Middle Ages, both in Europe and the Islamic world, even if the phenomenon is under-documented. To the great frustration of historians of medieval science, it was conventional *not* to acknowledge such debts in order to avoid the suspicion, from one’s own correligionaries, of promoting tainted knowledge. In the Latin world, scholarly translation was the principle area in which such debts were acknowledged. In the Islamic world, similar rules held although with less stringency, in part because the common community of the Arabic language was so strongly felt.

In the reflections that follow, I want to address in a general way the problem of inter-faith scholarly interactions in the Middle Ages and to suggest a framework in which to understand the social psychology underlying them. I hope to sketch out the terms of such a social psychology broadly enough to embrace the various registers of scholarly interaction—including master-disciple relationships, and both personal and citational exchanges among scholars.

I propose to build this framework out of three components: first, the presentation of the scholarly self in everyday life, adapting to medieval scholarly interaction the well-known construction of Erving Goffman; second, a notion of neutral space wherein certain themes

² D. Berger, “Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages”, *American Historical Review* 91, (1986) pp. 576–591, on p. 587.

³ Berger, “Mission to the Jews”, p. 582.

⁴ Berger, “Mission to the Jews”, p. 588.

are openly discussed without theological prejudice, subject to a set of mutually-recognized implicit rules; and third, the supposition that such exchanges by their very nature imply a kind of epistemological modesty on the part of the actors.

A number of authors have used the concept of "neutral space," both in describing Jewish-Muslim relationships in the marketplace, in science, and in medicine. I think it is worthwhile, however, to theorize the nature of the "neutrality" and how it is engendered. Mark Cohen observes, with regard to the market, that there "the mutually recognized [socio-religious] hierarchy held sway."⁵ The basis of marketplace neutrality is the mutual expectation of a positive gain. Actors (either in the marketplace or in scholarship) will not freely enter into an exchange situation without some expectation of gain. It is the expectation of gain by both parties that creates the neutral space. An unintended consequence of neutrality is the willingness of both parties to bracket ideology. The reward structure is crucial, because it makes intelligible how and why persons of high status could freely enter into a relationship with those of lower status.

In science, the process is analogous. In any interchange, the reward structure must be identified. If knowledge is the currency of exchange, both parties will view the process as productive of positive gain. If knowledge is conveyed by one party only, the other party is paid in social value, whether money is included in the exchange or not. By social value, I mean such factors as prestige and the enhancement of security, whether real or perceived. In the case of exchange between actors who are socially unequal in a respect unrelated to ethnic stratification, as in a master-student relationship, the student will not risk his obvious prospect of gain by breaching neutral space.

Clinical medicine is another example where high information control (either real or perceived) purchases neutral space for Jews. That Jewish physicians enjoyed high prestige in a great variety of cultural and social settings requires no argument here. But in addition to their skills, Jews may have had a psychological advantage in inter-faith doctor-patient relations: "Some patients . . . justified their decision to consult a Jewish doctor by pointing out that they could speak

⁵ M. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton, N.J. 1994) pp. 132, 133 ("neutral ground").

more frankly about their problems than to a Christian doctor.”⁶ It has also been suggested that some medieval English patients might have entertained a belief in the healing power of the Hebrew language, with the chanting of psalms, in Hebrew, prescribed for certain diseases. Such a practice did not require the presence of Jewish physicians, but it suggests one of the elements that might have contributed to the demand for Jewish physicians where they were available, to their prestige, and indeed the mystique often attaining to them.⁷

For scholars operating broadly in the Aristotelian tradition, reason was required to understand both nature and revelation. The tension between reason and revelation itself required a modulated and mediated approach to one’s own truth claims, a neutral space of private discourse, as it were. A scholarly Goffmanian performance requires epistemological modesty because it presumes that the actor adjusts his performance to the expectations of the audience. This does not mean that the actor must falsify or dissemble his ideology. Indeed he cannot because he wears his ethnicity like a costume and uses, subject to the restrictions stipulated, elements of his religious scholarly tradition as performance props. The fact that both actor and audience accept the tension between reason and revelation as axiomatic enhances the neutral space of the performance. And actors themselves, while not ideologically neutral, may find it worthwhile on occasion to debate in neutral space.

Circles of Affinity

Islamic World. The Aristotelian program was a joint effort of philosophers of the three religions, a unified “metatextual” community—in that the community coalesced around a rather large family of texts attributed to Aristotle which, through neo-Platonism, came to embrace the sciences as well.⁸ The relatively tight circles of philosophical (and

⁶ R. Jütte, “Contacts at the Bedside: Jewish Physicians and their Christian Patients”, in R. Po-Chia Hsia and H. Lehmann (eds), *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, (Cambridge 1995) pp. 137–150, on p. 149.

⁷ M. Zier, “The Healing Power of the Hebrew Tongue: An Example from Late Thirteenth-Century England”, in S. Campbell, B. Hall, and D. Klausner (eds), *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, (New York 1992) pp. 103–118.

⁸ R. Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1998) p. 431.

associated scientific) discourse in each generation included Muslims, Christians, and Jews, all of them writing in Arabic and supporting themselves characteristically through the practice of medicine.⁹

The kernel of the method of philosophical instruction which was analogous among all three religious groups was that the instructor began by reading a passage aloud—Arabic, *qara* 'ala, to read something in the presence of; analogous to Hebrew *miqra*, and Latin, *lectio*. Lessons in philosophy, that is, Aristotelian philosophy, were private in the Arab world, held in the *majlis* of a teacher.¹⁰ The method tended naturally towards the production of circles of affinity among the attendees of the *majlis*. While in Latin Europe, there may be no exact equivalent of the scholarly *majlis* as an institution, its social structure was certainly replicated: the teacher (*magister*) and his *socii* (fellows), not *scholares* (students), as in case of Gerard of Cremona and his circle.¹¹

It is not too difficult to identify circles of intellectual affinity that included both Jews and Muslims.¹² One such was a circle of Aristotelians who met in the *majlis* of Ibn Bājja in Zaragoza, which itself can perhaps be reckoned as part of larger intellectual grouping that enjoyed the patronage of the Banū Hūd, the ruling dynasty. Two Jewish members of this grouping, both descendants of Ḥasdai ibn Shaprūt or at least members of his family, were Abū'l-Faḍl Ḥasdai ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdai, who cultivated mathematics and astronomy as well as philosophy, and Abū Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdai who, after the fall of Zaragoza, emigrated to Egypt where he was commissioned by the vizier to write commentaries on the works of

⁹ Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies*, p. 408. See Collins' charts of relationships among philosophers on pp. 409 ("Ash'arites, Greek *Falasifa*, and the Syntheses of Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali, 935–1100"), 424 ("Mystics, Scientists, and Logicians, 1100–1400"), 435 ("Islamic and Jewish Philosophers in Spain, 900–1065"), 438 ("Spain, 1065–1235: The Hinge of the Hinge").

¹⁰ F.E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs: The Aristotelian Tradition in Islam*, (New York 1968) pp. 74–75. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq noted that medicine was taught in the same way as philosophy among the Arabs, that is, privately, in the same way as "in the *scholē* of our Christian friends" (p. 72).

¹¹ M.C. Weber suggests that Gerard was the first Latin to have *socii* in this context, an outgrowth of his teaching the expanded *quadrivium*, not yet available in any church-sponsored school, privately: "The Translating and Adapting of al-Fārābī's *Kitāb Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm* in Spain", unpub. doctoral diss., (Boston University 1996) p. 67.

¹² Al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, (ed.) B. Dodge, 2 vols (New York 1970) I, p. 426, recounts the presence of a Jew at the session (*majlis*) of the great theologian al-Balkhī. The Jew challenged the great master.

Hippocrates. According to ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a he continued in correspondence with Ibn Bājja from Cairo.¹³

Another outstanding circle was that of scholars interested in *kalām* (“speculative theology”) in Ayyubid Egypt that included the Jewish communal leaders Maimonides and Abū’l-Faraj ibn al-Kallām, the qāḍī and poet Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (1155–1211), a *faqīh* named Ibn Sawla, and a well-known opponent of *falsafah* named Abū’l-Qāsim al-Ḥalabī. The latter died in Cairo in 1186/7. So a well-known debate that included Maimonides and Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk took place in the latter’s house sometime before then. In his *Dīwān*, Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk mentions the event in passing by way of introducing a charming poem using medical imagery to praise Maimonides’ wisdom (“Were he to treat the present time with his knowledge/He would cure it through knowledge from the disease of its ignorance . . .”)¹⁴ Goitein, who defined the circle, ends his discussion of it with the caution that such phenomena were “of very limited scope and ephemeral character” viewed against a broader trend towards segregation, discrimination and, finally, persecution.¹⁵ That is, I think, missing the point. Maimonides and contemporary Arab *falāsīfā* were equally members of the same textual community, which drew in scholars irrespective of their religious beliefs. Those who persecuted Jews were frequently the persecutors of Aristotelians too; textual and ethnic communities cross-cut in complex and unexpected ways.

The geographer and historian al-Mas‘ūdī (ca. 893–956) was quite familiar with the Hebrew Bible, which he had studied in three different Arabic translations. He knew Sa‘adia Gaon personally and

¹³ Ibn Abi Uṣaybi‘a, *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā’/Sources d’Informations sur les Classes des Médecins. XIII^e Chapitre: Médecins de l’Occident Musulman*, (Algiers 1958) pp. 48–51.

¹⁴ S.D. Goitein, “The Moses Maimonides—Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk Circle”, in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, (Leiden 1986) pp. 399–405; F. Rosenthal, “Maimonides and a Discussion of Muslim Speculative Theology”, in M.M. Caspi (ed.), *Jewish Tradition in the Diaspora*, (Berkeley 1981) pp. 109–112. “Speculative theology,” Rosenthal’s rendering of *kalām* in English, is, I think, misleading. “Dialectic theology” is a better representation. The development of Arab Aristotelianism, from al-Fārābī, through Ibn Sīnā, and then in the thought of later figures such as Ibn Bājja and Maimonides can be viewed over the long term as a progressive pushing of metaphysics (first attached, then detached, from theology) to increasingly higher levels of generalization (Collins, *Sociology of Philosophies*, p. 420).

¹⁵ Goitein, “Circle”, p. 404.

had a personal, scholarly relationship with one of Sa'adia's teachers, Abū Kathīr of Tiberias (d. ca. 932) who probably made one of the Biblical translations that al-Mas'ūdī studied. He probably discussed Biblical chronology and the Jewish calendar with Sa'adia, who was interested in both. Sa'adia had written a Hebrew treatise on the calendar, titled *Seder ha-'Ibbūr*, in Arabic, with which al-Mas'ūdī was familiar.¹⁶ His comments on the Torah display no criticism of Jews.¹⁷ A similar relationship, though perhaps more adversarial, was that of Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064) and Samuel ibn Naghrīla, who debated in person and in apparent cordiality over various passages in *Genesis*. In his encyclopedia of religious ideas, the *Kūtāb al-Fīṣal*, he describes a number of such debates with Ibn Naghrīla, as early as 1013–14, asserting that Samuel was the “most learned” of Jews.¹⁸

Latin Europe. In the court of Frederick II of Sicily, there was an affinity group composed of four Jews and number of Christian scholars. The Jews were Jacob Anatoli (Provençal, in Naples, 1230–32), his nephew, Moshe b. Samuel Ibn Tibbon (Provençal) (1246), Judah b. Salomon ha-Cohen (from Toledo, 1245–47), and Moshe of Salerno (Naples, 1250). Anatoli knew Michael Scot, asserting “You’ll find in my book (*Malmad ha-Talmidim*, “The Stimulus of Students”) the little that I have heard from the mouth of the great Christian sage named Michael, with whom I was in touch for a while.” We know that Anatoli and Scot discussed various Biblical passages and that Anatoli, Scot and Frederick II himself discussed Maimonides’ interpretation of a passage from Job in the *Guide of the Perplexed*.¹⁹

¹⁶ A.M.H. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī and His World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims*, (London 1979) pp. 98–99, 287–288. On Sa'adia's calendrical writings, see H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon: His Life and Works*, (New York 1926 [1969]) pp. 169–171, 351–354. Sa'adia's book on chronology, written in Arabic, was the *Kūtāb al-Ta'rikh*.

¹⁷ Numerous medieval Muslims, the most prominent being al-Khwārizmī and al-Bīrūnī, commented on the Jewish calendrical system, without bias; see my article, “Sharing Science: Jews, Muslims, and Practical Science in the Medieval Islamic World” (in press).

¹⁸ The first meeting might have taken place in Córdoba, or in Almería, where both men lived for a while after fleeing the *fitna* in the capital. See C. Adang, *Islam frente a Judaísmo. La polémica de Ibn Hazm de Córdoba*, (Madrid 1994) pp. 26–27; T. Pulcini, *Exegesis as Polemical Discourse: Ibn Hazm on Jewish and Christian Scriptures*, (Atlanta 1998) pp. 129–30.

¹⁹ C. Sirat, “La filosofia ebraica alla corte di Federico II”, in P. Toubert and A.P. Bagliani (eds), *Federico II e le scienze*, (Palermo 1994) pp. 185–197, on pp. 186–188.

Judah b. Salomon ha-Cohen had written a treatise called *Saggio sulla scienza* in Arabic, which he translated into Hebrew while at Frederick's court. In 1233 he began to correspond with "the philosopher" of Frederick's court about certain problems in geometry and astronomy.²⁰ Around 1250, Moshe of Salerno, Niccolò da Giovinazzo and some Dominicans of Naples compared the Hebrew and Latin texts of Maimonides' *Guide*, and Moshe composed, in Judeo-Italian, a philosophical glossary based on difficult words in the *Guide*, in the Hebrew translation by Samuel ibn Tibbon. This was an interacting group.²¹

A comparable Jewish-Christian affinity group was that of Montpellier/Barcelona whose central figure was Jacob b. Machir ("Don Profeit") ibn Tibbon (1236–1306). He was a member of the famous Spanish/Provençal Ibn Tibbon family of translators, nephew of Moshe. Profeit himself translated al-Zarqālluh's *Safīha* "from Arabic into Latin, Profatius vulgarizing [rendering it into the vernacular] and John of Brescia rendering into Latin."²² Profeit worked with other translators in Montpellier, such as Armengaud Blaise, who translated the former's astronomical works, including (in 1290) the *Quadrans circuli*, on the quadrant.²³ In 1294, Armengaud translated the *De asmate* of Maimonides "ab arabico mediante fideli interprete." McVaugh and Ferre suggest that the interpreter may well have been Don Profeit, who would have read Maimonides' text out loud in Romance for Armengaud to put into Latin.²⁴ Another Jewish member of this circle was a relative and student of Armengaud, Estori ha-Parhi, a physician exiled from France in 1306. Estori knew Latin and translated Armengaud's *De remediis* into Hebrew. Armengaud was close to Arnald of Vilanova, whose *Practica* had been translated into Hebrew.²⁵

²⁰ Sirat, "La filosofia ebraica", p. 188.

²¹ Sirat, "La filosofia ebraica", pp. 195–196.

²² D.C. Lindberg, "The Transmission of Greek and Arabic Learning to the West", in D. Lindberg (ed.), *Science in the Middle Ages*, (Chicago 1978) pp. 52–90, on p. 69.

²³ Michael McVaugh and Lola Ferre suggest that Jacob translated his own Hebrew text into Romance which Armengaud then rendered in Latin; *The Tabula Antidotarii of Armengaud Blaise and its Hebrew Translation*, (Philadelphia 2000; *Transactions*, 90, pt. 6) pp. 2–3.

²⁴ McVaugh and Ferre, *Antidotarii*, p. 3. Later, in 1305, Armengaud translated another work of Maimonides, *De veneni*, into Latin for Pope Clement V; M.R. McVaugh, *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285–1345*, (Cambridge 1993) p. 158.

²⁵ McVaugh and Ferre, *Antidotarii*, pp. 13–14; C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy*

Another Christian was Etienne Arlandi who in 1301, in Montpellier, translated into Latin Profeit's Hebrew translation of Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *Practica sphere solide*, on the use of the armillary sphere.²⁶ The complex web of scholarly interaction and personal relationships of this group is striking. Profeit and Arnald, at either pole, were, in an instrumental sense, equals: both commanded respect and both pushed intercultural programs in science and medicine.²⁷

The relationship between Ramon Llull and three Jewish scholars further illustrates various dimensions of scholarly interaction. In a manuscript which appears to be the *incipit* of one of his books, Llull dedicates the work to three *magistri* of the Jewish community of Barcelona:

*Als savis jueus de Barcelona, Mestre Abram Denenet e Mestre Aron i Mestre Bon Jue Salamon i altres savis que son en la aljama, Ramon Llull salut.*²⁸

All three are styled *mestre*, that is, *magister*. According to Hames, Abraham Denenet may be Solomon b. Abraham ibn Adret, communal leader and disciple of Nahmanides. Aaron ha-Levi was another legalist, named as a judge by Peter III in a dispute within the Zaragoza Jewish community. Bon Jue Salamon is most likely Judah Salmon, who mediated a dispute between ibn Adret and the Kabbalist, Abraham Abulafia, whom the former had banned.²⁹ As Hames observes, Llull liked to dispute with Jews, but believed that such exchanges did not work if one side were forced. "The freedom to reply was there. Llull could hope for a more open and frank exchange of opinions and beliefs."³⁰ Llull also preached in synagogues, perhaps in hopes of finding an audience receptive to his more measured

in the Middle Ages, (Cambridge 1985) p. 215; G. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge*, (Paris 1999) p. 330. Armengaud and Arnald were both physicians to James II of Aragon. The *Practica* mentioned by Sirat may be Arnald's treatise on pharmacology, called *Al-pratica* (with the Arabic definite article) in one Latin manuscript and, in another, *Aggregator practicus de simplicibus*, translated into Hebrew in 1485. I am indebted to Lola Ferre for these references.

²⁶ Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 326.

²⁷ See McVaugh's lucid account of the dynamics of Jewish-Christian scholarly interaction in the Crown of Aragon in the time of Profeit; *Medicine before the Plague*, pp. 62–63.

²⁸ Hames, *Art of Conversion*, p. 109 n. 96.

²⁹ Hames, *Art of Conversion*, pp. 110–111.

³⁰ Hames, *Art of Conversion*, p. 115.

demeanor. What we can say about his behavior is that he was willing to play by the accepted rules of engagement suggested by the scenario in question.

Translation Teams. Translation teams existed in virtue of the linguistic skills of Jews; hence the Jew was usually dominant. Jews in the Islamic world routinely studied secular subjects with Arab teachers. They were also worldly; many doubled as merchants. That is what makes Abraham ibn Ezra's *modus operandi* (traveling from town to town selling customized astronomical tables), and possibly Pedro Alfonsi's, understandable. Both were used to working with non-Jews both in different social configurations.³¹ The Christian team members were typically canons, archdeacons, with academic backgrounds, and were socialized into accepting the *magisterium* of a teacher, including those they might not get along with socially. The Arabic-to-Latin translation movement and Hebrew science (which included a translation program) began simultaneously in the first half of the twelfth century in the same locale, the Ebro Valley. The movements were intertwined and drew on a common stock of knowledge and also of the scholarly norms and conventions associated with it.³²

Translation teams, typically consisting of a Christian and Jew, present a formal, collaborative relationship, ostensibly involving deeper affective ties than membership in a *majlis* or some other, less structured affinity circle. The relationship demands an almost uncanny ability to synchronize aural, oral, and cognitive functions simultaneously, promoting a high grade of intellectual intimacy. Some teams are comprised of a senior and a junior member. Three of the more important teams are Gerard of Cremona (Christian, senior), Galippus (Mozarab Christian, junior);³³ Ibn Dāwūd (Jew, senior) and Domingo Gundisalvo (Christian, junior);³⁴ Abraham bar Hiyya (Jew, senior)

³¹ On commercial parallels, see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols., (Berkeley 1967–93) II, p. 295.

³² See my paper, "The Common Context of Medieval Scientific Translation Movements" (in press).

³³ J.S. Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y sus colaboradores judíos*, (Toledo 1985) p. 56: Galippus read the *Almagest* aloud in Arabic while Gerard *latinavit*. Gerard was a poor Arabist; yet it is fairly clear that Galippus, who left no independent work, was a hired hand.

³⁴ C.F.S. Burnett, "Some Comments on the Translating of Works from Arabic into Latin in the Mid-Twelfth Century", in *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, (Berlin 1985), pp. 161–171, on p. 166. Ibn Dāwūd is clearly the senior member of

and Plato of Tivoli (Christian, junior).³⁵ Lesser known teams also appear in the literature.³⁶ Ibn Dāwūd called Gundisalvo his *socius*, not a disciple, that is, but a member of his affinity group. The fact that Jews were the senior members of such teams is unsurprising. In Goffmanian terms, the Jew enjoyed high information control and low status; the gentile, high status and low information control. The fact that a Christian can call a Jew his *magister* is proof enough that under specified conditions information control is an effective aid in reducing social distance to the point where creative exchange can occur.³⁷

What is particularly interesting about the patterning of translator-team dyadic relationships (in Christian Spain) is that sometimes the Jew is senior, sometimes junior. These arrangements recall the similar flexibility of Jewish/Muslim business relations. Christians may have been uncomfortable in such dyadic, face-to-face relationships (though we don't know they were), but certainly Jews had this experience in the Muslim world. According to Goitein, there is no evidence of double standard in business ethics. Indeed, Maimonides

the team. Lemay observes that Gundisalvo was not a good Arabist, could not "judge or criticize" the Arabic works he translated, and was more a technician than a scholar; "Dans l'Espagne du XII^e siècle. Les traductions de l'Arabe au Latin", *Annales* 18, (1963) pp. 639–665, on p. 655. Lemay may be overly damning; Gundisalvo was an important spokesman for the new learning in his treatises on the sciences. Burnett believes him to have been the motivator of the entire translation effort in twelfth-century Toledo: "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain", in S. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of al-Andalus* (Leiden 1992) pp. 1036–1058, on p. 1044. J.S. Gil, on the other hand, views Ibn Dāwūd as "the most important [Spanish] intellectual of the first half of the twelfth century"; see *Escuela*, p. 33. On the numerous problems presented by Ibn Dāwūd's identity, see Gil, *Escuela*, pp. 31–33.

³⁵ See M.-T. d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", in R.L. Benson and G. Constable (eds), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1982) pp. 421–462, on p. 450, where she characterizes Plato as Bar Hiyya's disciple and not his equal either in language or in science.

³⁶ E.g., the Jew Abraham and Bonaventura, who translated the *Miṣrāḥ* into Latin, via Castilian; M.-T. d'Alverny, "Les traductions de deux interprètes, d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et la langue vernaculaire en Latin", in *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Age*, (Paris 1989) pp. 193–206, on p. 201; the Jew Salomon Avenraza and Alfred of Saresel (Saresel acknowledges that Avenraza was his teacher); d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", pp. 454–455; Salio, a canon of Padua, who translated an Arabic manuscript with the help of a Jew named David, in Toledo, in *barrio iudeorum* (p. 455). Here the Jew appears as the senior member; why else would a canon venture into the Jewish quarter?; Michael Scot and the Jew, Abuteus the Levite (Gil, *Escuela*, p. 56).

³⁷ E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (New York 1959) p. 154.

forbade such conduct in his law code. A Jewish merchant must treat Muslims and Jews the same in business dealings.³⁸ A Jew might act as business agent (*wakīl*) for a Muslim and *vice versa*. Indeed, a Jewish trader might well enhance his prestige as a trustworthy merchant by confiding shipments to Muslim business partners.³⁹

Scholarly Interaction in the Court of Alfonso X

The Alfonsine “school” of translators, comprised of five Jews and eight Christians, was more of a super team than an affinity circle. Appointed by the King, they lacked the voluntary nature that defines an affinity circle. In the Alfonsine school, the Jews were the dominant figures; they translated from Arabic and performed the observational astronomy. The Christians were Latinists. Translations were from Arabic into Castilian; on occasion a Latinist would create a Latin version from the Castilian.

The Christian members of Alfonso’s translation group were the Spaniards Alvaro de Oviedo (priest), Garcí Pérez (priest), Maestre (another *magister*!) Bernardo el Arábigo, a convert from Islam, Fernando de Toledo, Juan d’Aspa, Guillén Arremon d’Aspa (priest), and the Italians Aegidius de Thebaldus of Parma, who translated from Greek and Castilian into Latin, Juan de Mesina, John of Cremona, Bonaventura de Siena, and Pedro Reggio. The Jewish members were Judah ibn Mosca, Isaac ibn Cid (Rabiçag), Abraham Alfaquín,⁴⁰ Samuel ha-Levi Abulafia, and Xosse Alfaquí.⁴¹ The Alfonsine translators worked in various configurations. Judah ibn Mosca and Juan d’Aspa produced *El Libro de la Alcora* (of Qusṭā b. Lūqā) and the *Libro de las Cruzes*, as a team. Mosca teamed with Garcí Pérez on the *Lapidario*. Bernardo el Arábigo and Abraham Alfaquín collaborated on a revision of the *Tratado de la Azaféa*, of al-Zarqālluh, from a

³⁸ Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, II, p. 297. The professional culture of merchants controlled the performance completely, in Goffmanian terms.

³⁹ Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, II, pp. 295–296.

⁴⁰ Identified as Abraham ibn Waqar, by Norman Roth, “Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso’s Scientific Work”, in R.I. Burns (ed.), *Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, (Philadelphia 1990) pp. 59–71, on p. 70.

⁴¹ See, on the production of each, Gil, *Escuela*, pp. 59–83; Roth, “Jewish Collaborators”.

translation prepared originally by Fernando de Toledo.⁴² Jews frequently translated Arabic texts directly into Castilian. But the *III Libros de las estrellas de la ochaua esfera* (the *Kitāb al-kawākib al-thābita al-musawwar*, of ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī) was translated by Judah ibn Mosca and then edited by Samuel ha-Levi, John de Cremona, and Juan de Mesina.⁴³

A prologue to the Alfonsine Tables contains a fanciful account of a meeting of astronomers supposedly held in Toledo under the auspices of the King:

There gathered . . . the astronomers Aben Raghel and Alquibicio, his masters, of Toledo; Aben Musio and Mohamat, of Seville; and Joseph Aben Ali and Jacobo Abenvena, of Córdoba, and more than fifty others whom he brought from Gascony and Paris with great salaries. The King ordered them to translate Ptolemy’s *Quadripartitum*, and to add to it books by Montesano and Algazel. He gave this task to Samuel and Yehuda el Cohenenso, Alphaquí of Toledo. They were ordered to meet in the castle of Galiana and to dispute the movement of the firmament and stars, presided by Aben Raghel and Alquibicio when the King was not present. Finally they produced some famous tables, as everyone knows, and after having composed this great work between 1258 and 1262, he sent them home content to their homelands, awarding them exemptions freeing them and their descendants from taxes and obligations, as stated in letters dated in Toledo May 12, 1261 [or 1262].⁴⁴

The description is fictitious. No such grand meeting ever took place. ‘Alī ibn Rijāl (author of the *Libro Conplido*) died around 1040; al-Qabīsī (935–1012) called Alcabitius by medieval Latins) was an eastern astrologer, with no relationship to Spain. Three of the Jews mentioned were well-known members of the King’s circle: Samuel (Samuel ha-Levi), Yehuda el Cohenenso (Ibn Mosca), and Alphaquí (Abraham Alfaquín). What is interesting about the passage is the easy recognition by the author of the normal co-participation of members of all religious groups, indistinctly. Alfonso was the first European king to commission observations with an eye towards com-

⁴² Still another translation of the *Libro de la Azafea* had been produced by Ibn Mosca and William the Englishman (Guillelmus Anglicus) between 1225 and 1231, much earlier than the work of the Alfonsine “school”. Roth, “Jewish Collaborators”, pp. 61–62.

⁴³ Gil, *Escuela*, p. 82. An editor was called *ayuntador*.

⁴⁴ Cited by Gil, *Escuela*, p. 67 (my translation).

piling a set of tables. These were carried out by Rabiçag in Toledo between 1263 and 1272, during which period he also witnessed four solar eclipses. He then composed the Tables with the aid of Judah ibn Mosca.⁴⁵ In the fictionalized account, the project is supervised by two Muslims, which reflects two significant value judgements: first, Arab astronomy is the authoritative science; second, Jews don't lead.

Jews and Christian Bible Scholars

Christian Biblical scholars in particular were in touch with Jews because, in Beryl Smalley's words, the latter were a kind of "telephone" to the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁶ Monks of the school of St. Victor in particular formed a kind of circle of affinity with Jews unknown in the school of Rashi (d. 1105). Andrew of St. Victor reports that Hugh, his famous master, had "learnt the literal sense of the Pentateuch from the Jews" (102), made an effort to learn Hebrew and consulted "a certain Jew, fluent and expert in the fables of Gamaliel" on exegetical tradition. From Hugh's opinions expressed in his *Notulae*, Smalley deduces that "Hugh's [Jewish] teachers belonged to the contemporary North French school of rationalist exegetes founded by Rashi (d. 1105)."⁴⁷ Richard of St. Victor also consulted Jews, specifically on chronological issues.⁴⁸

Andrew of St. Victor was so impressed with Jewish exegesis that Richard attacked him for "judaizing." Smalley characterizes Andrew's interrogation of Jewish positions as a "lively mixture of the tutorial and the *disputatio*," by which she means something "more informal and intimate" than a public disputation.⁴⁹ Such informality and intimacy points to what I have characterized as a circle of affinity. Andrew's frankness in representing Jewish exegetical traditions on important prophetic passages in the Hebrew Bible that Richard found

⁴⁵ J. Samsó, "La astronomía de Alfonso X", *Investigación y Ciencia*, (Nov. 1984) pp. 91–103, on p. 101.

⁴⁶ B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., (Notre Dame 1964) p. 363: "The Hebrew language had a magic pre-eminence over others" for Christian Biblical scholars.

⁴⁷ Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 103–104. Hugh refers to these Jews as "Hebraei."

⁴⁸ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 110.

⁴⁹ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 157.

so shocking, Smalley attributes to Andrew's "desire that the Jewish arguments should have fair play."⁵⁰ Smalley's "fair play" is what I have characterized as epistemological modesty. Those who exhibited it, like Andrew of St. Victor and Peter Abelard, were inviting attack by persons less tolerant than they.

Smalley's take on Rashi's influence on Christian exegetes like Andrew of Saint Victor and Herbert Bosham is that the celebrated rabbi "had directed Jewish exegesis into new channels; he had made it 'literal' in the sense that it kept closely to the text and preferred rational to allegorical explanations." Although Jews and Christians approached the relationship between the literal and the allegorical differently, Rashi's approach pushed Christian exegesis in a direction that was more attuned to the meaning of the Hebrew text than it been previously.⁵¹

There are numerous fleeting references to Christian-Jewish scholarly contacts. Peter Abelard (who, in his *Dialogue*, displayed a modicum of epistemological modesty by introducing a philosopher to moderate between the Christian and Jewish voices) wrote Heloise that he heard a Jew comment on a Biblical text, and one of his students remarked on Abelard's personal interrogation of Jews.⁵² Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux "corrected the text of the Old Testament with the help of Jews, whom he consulted in French, as he tells us."⁵³ Alexander of Neckham discussed or debated a Trinitarian interpretation of Exodus 3:14 with some Parisian Jews.⁵⁴ Whether such "debates" were amicable or hostile, knowledge was exchanged directly and at a rather sophisticated level.

Finally, in summarizing Christian commentary on Hebrew and Latin-Hebrew psalters, which obviously required some Jewish input in dealing with Hebrew calligraphy, Smalley notes:

⁵⁰ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 169.

⁵¹ See Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 171, 190–191.

⁵² Smalley, *Bible*, p. 78, n. 5: "Judei vero a philosopho [Abelard] sepe requisiti . . ."

⁵³ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 79. Further examples on p. 80.

⁵⁴ R. Loewe, "Alexander Neckham's Knowledge of Hebrew", in W. Horbury (ed.), *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, (Edinburgh 1999) pp. 207–223, on p. 212, n. 26: "Reduco ad memoriam quonammodo ludens serio Judeis consueui respondere obicientibus sic. 'Deus et pater et filius, ergo pater es filius.'" See also, Smalley, *Bible*, p. 235.

The existence of six Hebrew psalters [in thirteenth and fourteenth-century England], all written by amateurs, can hardly be a mere coincidence. It suggests that Jewish converts were regularly employed by Christian scholars to write Hebrew, or *that there was some working system of enlisting non-professional Jewish services*.⁵⁵

Smalley's inference is important, because it suggests some level of normal interaction between the *scriptoria* in question and, in this case, Jewish scribes. Who these scribes were or where they lived is an open question, as is Smalley's supposition that such scribes were "non-professional". It seems more reasonable to me that a Jewish scholar might have provided technical services such as teaching Hebrew language or copying Hebrew texts, as well as discussing the nature of those texts. There is no need to surmise the existence of two different levels of scholarship.

On the Jewish side, Shlomo Sela has noted that Abraham ibn Ezra was familiar with the Vulgate (although not a good enough Latinist to have been able to write in Latin).⁵⁶

Jewish Magistri

In the introduction to his translation of Ibn Sina's *Meteora*, Albert of Sareshel acknowledges his intellectual debt to "magister meus Salomon Avenraz." Similarly an anonymous twelfth-century Christian disciple of Abraham ibn Ezra refers to the latter as "Abraham magister noster egregius," who dictated a treatise on the astrolabe as he wrote the translation down.⁵⁷ Indeed, long after his death, it was well known

⁵⁵ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 349; my emphasis.

⁵⁶ S. Sela, "Contactos científicos entre Judíos y Cristianos en le Siglo XII: El caso del *Libro de las Tablas Astronómicas* de Abraham ibn Ezra en su versión latina y hebrea", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes e Hebraicos* 45, (1996) pp. 185–222 (Sección Hebrea), especially pp. 214–215.

⁵⁷ D'Alverny, "Traductions a deux interprètes," p. 198; J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, "El magisterio astronómico de Abraham b. Ezra", in *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, (Barcelona 1949) pp. 289–347, on pp. 339–340: "Abraham magister noster egregius quo dictante et hanc dispositionem astrolabii conscripsimus." An anonymous, probably English, glossator of a thirteenth-century Hebrew psalter cites the rabbi he had trained with ("rabi dixit . . .") and refers to him as "my master;" Smalley, *Bible*, p. 349.

among Christians scholars that Ibn Ezra's Christian assistants called him *magister*.⁵⁸

Whether and when it was appropriate for a Christian to address a Jew as *magister* (or *mestre*, in Catalan) was an issue in the medieval Crown of Aragon, but rarely and (as we shall see) famously. There is good evidence to show that this was an entirely normal and indeed traditional usage, used out of respect for scholarship and/or leadership in the Jewish community. In the Marca Hispania, the Carolingians had designated a *magister judeorum*, where *magister* (according to Arthur Zuckerman) was the equivalent of Hebrew *rav*. This was a high official, the head of the Jewish community, holding an honor (Heb. *kavod*) from the king.⁵⁹ By the thirteenth century the title was used routinely for Jewish scholars and community heads and became an issue in the Dispute of Barcelona (1263) when the convert Pau Cristiani admonished Nahmanides that because the Torah states that "The scepter shall not depart from Judah," as a result, since the end of the Exilarchy, "there is no one among you today who can rightly be called 'Rabbi'". As for the fact that you are called *mestre*, that is a mistake, and it is dishonest of you to use that name."

"I replied somewhat mockingly," Nahmanides reports in the *Vikuah*, his account of the Dispute:

This is not relevant to the Disputation, and even so, what you say is not true. For *mestre* is not the equivalent of 'Rabbi' but of 'Rav' and the title 'Rav' is used in the Talmud for teachers who did not have *semikhah*. But I must confess that I am not really a *mestre* or even a first-rate disciple. I said this in the way of modesty.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Thus in the preface to his translation of from French into Latin of an originally Hebrew work titled *Principium sapientiae*, Peter of Abano says the author was "Ben Azra iudeus, qui magister adiutorii appellatur . . .," quoted by Dahan, *Les intellectuels*, p. 331, n. 129.

⁵⁹ A. Zuckerman, *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768–900*, (New York 1972) pp. 246, 251–152. The *magister* was an imperial official who could summon *missi* and other officials to enforce imperial decrees (p. 254). Zuckerman believes that the first appointee was the exiled Gaon Natroni, known locally as Makhir (p. 882).

⁶⁰ "The *Vikuah* of Nahmanides: Translation and Commentary", in H. Maccoby (ed.), *Judaism on Trial*, (Rutherford 1982) pp. 102–150, on pp. 106–107. I have replaced Maccoby's *maestro* with *mestre*; the language of the disputation was Catalan. A shorter Latin account, written by a Christian refers to Nahmanides as "Moses, called Master [magister], a Jew", and his response to Christiani: "when it was proved to him that he ought not to be called 'Master' because no Jew ought to be called by this name since the time of the passion of Christ, he conceded this at least, that it was true for the last 800 years", *Judaism on Trial*, pp. 147–148. The

That is, the Talmud allows for persons without *semikhah*, “license”, the equivalent of a diploma or ordination, to be called *rav*. He goes on to say that the Biblical passage in question refers to kings, not scholars, and that Pau had got it wrong. In the time of the exile, persons within the Jewish community, like the Exilarchs, who had been given “a little authority [*ktsat memshallah*] by Gentile kings” could grant the license.⁶¹ In the same Dispute, Ramon de Penyafort, refers to Nahmanides as *mestre*, without fanfare, supporting the supposition that the title was routinely applied by Christians to Nahmanides and other Jews of similar standing.⁶²

Master-Disciple Relationships

There are numerous examples from the early Islamic world. Thābit ibn Qurra had a Jewish student named Yehuda ibn Joseph ibn Abi'l-Thanna, of Raqqa.⁶³ Avicenna (in a Latin translation of a book on alchemy ascribed to him) says that he had studied that art with Jacob the Jew.⁶⁴ The arithmetician Khurrazād ibn Dārshād was the student of a Jew, Sahl ibn Bishr.⁶⁵ Jews routinely paid Muslim teachers to teach them Arabic grammar. The grammarian al-Māzinī (d. ca 863) spurned an offer of 100 dinars made to him by a Jew who wanted instruction in the grammar of al-Sibawaih.⁶⁶ The famous Egyptian medical doctor Ishāq ibn Sulaimān al-Isrā'īlī studied with a Muslim physician named Ishāq ibn 'Imrān in Qayrawān, and in the same city trained the Muslim physician, Ibn al-Jazzār. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a recounts these facts (among many similar) without comment, because they were unremarkable.⁶⁷ Maimonides both studied with a Muslim

Hebrew text of the *mestre/rav* exchange can be found in Nahmanides, *Kiṭve Rabenu Moshe ben Nahman*, 2 vols., (Jerusalem 1963–64) I, pp. 304–305.

⁶¹ An interesting statement, in view of the tradition of the Marca Hispanica, whereby Christian kings granted the title of *magister* (= *rav*).

⁶² *Vikuah*, p. 145.

⁶³ D.M. Dunlop, “Philosophical Predecessors and Contemporaries of Ibn Bājījah”, *Islamic Quarterly* 2, (1955) pp. 110–116, on p. 110, n. 20.

⁶⁴ R. Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, (Princeton 1994) pp. 96–97.

⁶⁵ *Fihrist*, II, 655. On Sahl, see, Sā'id al-Andalusī, *Science in the Medieval World: Book of the Categories of Nations*, (trans.) S.I. Salem and A. Kumar (Austin 1991) p. 80

⁶⁶ Dunlop, “Philosophical Predecessors”, p. 14, n. 45.

⁶⁷ Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, *Uyūn*, pp. 6–9.

philosopher (with a student of ibn Bājja)⁶⁸ and taught one (‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī). Ḥasan ibn Hūd (1235/6–1297/8), a sufi of Damascus and scion of the princely family that once had ruled Zaragoza, taught Maimonides’ *Dalālat al-Ḥā’irīn* (*Guide of the Perplexed*, in Arabic) to Jewish students.⁶⁹

Interconfessional master-disciple relations, although putatively frowned upon by the orthodox of all three religious groups, were extremely common, involving Jews and Muslims in the Islamic world, Jews and Christians in Latin Europe, in each case with the Jew either as master or as disciple. In Latin Europe, however, if the Jew was the teacher of a Christian, the latter when acknowledging the relationship in writing, hardly ever revealed the name of the person in question. Here, Jews appear as teachers of Hebrew. We know the names of three Jews who instructed Pico della Mirandola in Hebrew, Kabbalah and the Zohar (Abraham b. Moshe da Prato, Yohanan b. Yitzhak Alemanno, and the convert Flavius Mithridates)⁷⁰ but this is late in the day (end of the fifteenth century) and the ambience of Renaissance Italy was perhaps more accepting of Jewish-Christian intellectual relations than had been the case before.

Solomon ibn Adret, the great rabbi and Barcelona community leader of the thirteenth century says in a responsum that he consulted with “gentile sages” in a matter concerning royal rights over coinage.⁷¹ Such consultations must not only have been routine but

⁶⁸ *Guide* II, 9. Maimonides also knew a son of the astronomer Jābir ibn Alflah, though seems to have misunderstood or not known ibn Alflah’s critique of Ptolemy; N. Roth, “Maimonides and Some Muslim Sources: al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd”, in *Maimonides. Essays and texts. 850th Anniversary*, (Madison 1985) pp. 89–105, on p. 89.

⁶⁹ I. Goldziher, “Ibn Hūd, the Mohammedan Mystic, and the Jews of Damascus”, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 6, (1894) pp. 218–220. On Sufi influence over eastern Jews, see S.D. Goitein, “A Jewish Addict to Sufism”, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 44, (1953) pp. 37–49. There is rich symmetry in the relationship between the Banū Hūd and Maimonides, who used the mathematical treatise al-Mu’tamin b. Hūd, king of Zaragoza and ancestor of Ḥasan, as an instructional textbook (Goldziher, “Ibn Hūd”, p. 218).

⁷⁰ A. Bergquist, “Christian Hebrew Scholarship in Quattrocento Florence,” in Horbury, *Hebrew Study*, pp. 225–233, on pp. 230–231. H. Hames, “Elia del Medigo: An Archetype of the Halachic Man”, *Traditio* 56, (2001) pp. 213–227. Harry Wolfson noted a propos of Pico’s admiring citations of Hasdai Crescas that “a great deal of Jewish philosophy was transmitted orally to non-Jews through the medium of Jewish assistants”, *Crescas’ Critique of Aristotle* (Cambridge 1929) p. 34.

⁷¹ Solomon Ibn Adret, *Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, vol. 3, no. 34; cited by Elka Klein in on-line Medieval sourcebook (www.Fordham.edu/halsall/source/13cjewishviews-monopoly.html).

they were predicated on Ibn Adret's prior access to the appropriate Christian scholarly network. In the fourteenth century, a number of Jewish physicians like Abraham ben Meshullam Abigdor and Leon Yosef, attracted by the rigorous scholastic pedagogical techniques of questiones and disputationes, traveled to Montpellier "to hear the science of medicine from the mouths of Christian doctors and scholars" like Jean de Tournemire.⁷² In the other direction of influence, Christians routinely borrowed scholarly books from Jews; thus in 1293 a Christian was accused of refusing to return some Hebrew books loaned to him by Jews.⁷³

Performance

Goffman views social interaction as performances by teams which exploit a small number of fronts, wherein actors assume established social roles. There is a front appropriate for each common interactional situation: teachers and students, Jews and Christians, buyers and sellers, citizen and official, and so forth. The conformity with which these roles are played by all members of a group is an unintended consequence of the need in all societies to socialize children. The same is true of scholars who were socialized while quite young into professional roles even as they were learning how to behave in the wider society.

There need be no contradiction between a performance front and a belief system that is not accepted by one's audience. That is, participants in such discussions did not believe they were being hypocritical by entering into dialogue on overtly theological subjects. A common Abrahamic and Aristotelian "public transcript," known to

⁷² *li-shmoa hokmat ha-rofe mi-pi hakmei ha-notzrim we-navoneihem*; L. García-Ballester, L. Ferre, and E. Feliu, "Jewish Appreciation of Fourteenth-Century Scholastic Medicine", *Osiris* 2nd ser. 6, (1990) pp. 85–117, on p. 117. According to Leon Yosef, scholastic method recalled the approach that earlier Jewish sages applied to the Torah (p. 110). Thus did he vow "to study their language a little; I shall attend their schools and houses of study. . . . I went in search of wise Christians. . . . I saw [Tournemire] with my own eyes and I spoke to him" (110–112). Shlomo Sela remarks that contact between Jewish and Christian scholars was "frecuente y rutinario" ("Contactos científicos", p. 27).

⁷³ *B. Boderà es nega a retornar uns llibres hebraics qui li prestaren uns jueus*; cited by P. Santoja, *La influencia de la cultura judía en la obra de Arnau de Vilanova*, (Valencia 2001) p. 67 n. 133.

all persons involved in philosophy and science, did not preclude commitment to a “hidden transcript” embodying themes of resistance, such as messianic deliverance. James C. Scott has portrayed hidden transcripts as a mechanism that allows for ideological resistance in tandem with a public attitude of acceptance of second-class status⁷⁴ The reality of the force of hidden transcripts is all too clear in the behavior of crypto-Jewish Conversos and the majority of Moriscos.

In any interaction between members of different teams, each member will present an idealized impression of self that conforms to the expectations of the opposite team. In the course of ones daily affairs, the nature of performance changes, and persons who are colleagues in one role (Jewish and non-Jewish scholars or merchants) may not so be in other roles. A Jewish philosopher plays the scholar with other scholars, the businessman with his clients, the father to his children and so forth. In each case his manner and appearance must be consistent with his presentation. In any situation, members of the other team know what to expect. The success of the actor in attaining any particular goal depends on his skill in impression management.

What happens when the prestige of one group or team is lower than that of the other? The lower prestige group (Jews in both Muslim and Christian worlds) enlists “performance aids” that will decrease social distance between themselves and the higher prestige team. Such aids include fluency in vernacular languages; in the Islamic world, Jews whose command of Arabic was exceptional were recognized for it and enjoyed a gain in prestige. The person lower in prestige must take pains not to breach customary social distance.

The characteristic medieval literary genre of the debate between sages of two or three religions is in effect a stylized version of the real, more or less friendly, debates on theological issues that went on all the time among such scholars, without any acrimony at all because established rules of discourse, known to all, were followed. Such discussions succeeded because they were “back region”: intellectuals talking among each other in the absence of any sanctioning authority. In some cases, as in Abelard’s treatise, a literary device was included in an attempt to reproduce the rules attaining in informal discussion. In its most common form, the stylistic element intro-

⁷⁴ *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven 1990).

duced is that the author's side wins the debate. Public disputations were attempts to have nature (in the form of staged debate among live persons) imitate art (the literary debate in which the author's side wins). This amounts to a forced suspension of Goffmanian rules, owing to the presence of "intruders" in the persons of authority figures (e.g., church or royal authorities) who are there to monitor the debate and channel it towards a certain outcome, blurring the distinction between "front" and "back" regions, thus inhibiting the performance of the Jewish team.⁷⁵

In analyzing the intergroup dynamics at the Disputation of Barcelona Goffman's approach is helpful. The Disputation was ostensibly a continuation of the tradition of private informal disputes but the public "staging" of the event meant that the normal performance rules governing Jewish-Christian scholarly interaction were changed. Under the circumstances, it was all but impossible for the Jewish team to maintain expressive control in a situation where the normal rules of give and take were suspended. In an atmosphere of intimidation the Abrahamic courtesy normally extended by Christian scholars was withheld. Goffman notes that in times of crisis, "a new set of motives may suddenly become effective and the established social distance between the teams may sharply increase or decrease."⁷⁶

Not only were the Christians given the right to ask all the questions, other rules of discourse that Nahmanides had accepted were not observed.⁷⁷ When the king intervened in the debate over a matter of chronology, Nahmanides recounts: "I said to him, 'the conditions were that I would not dispute with you, and that you would not intervene in the debate.'"⁷⁸ This is crucial, because in the logic

⁷⁵ "Usually when intruders enter the front region, the performers tend to get ready to begin the performance they stage for the intruders at another time or place, and this sudden readiness to act in a particular way brings at least momentary confusion to the line of action the performers are already engaged in. The performers will find themselves temporarily torn between two possible realities, and until signals can be given and received members of the team may have no guide as to what line they are to follow. Embarrassment is almost certain to result". (Goffman, *Presentation*, p. 140).

⁷⁶ Goffman, *Presentation*, p. 163.

⁷⁷ Robert Chazan correctly observes that the friars had made up rules with an imbedded role disparity; *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath*, (Berkeley 1992) p. 51.

⁷⁸ *Vikuah*, p. 114.

of Gofmanian rules, it is extremely trying, if not impossible, to play to two audiences, with different idealized role expectations, at the same time. Nahmanides, however, did respond to the king's query and then provided more details, later on, in private (in the back region, where he could speak more frankly).

On the second day, the session was held in private (without the general public) at the king's palace. In the Disputation's most dramatic scene, Cristiani began by invoking *mestre* Moses, that is, Maimonides (again, a routine and very appropriate usage here), on the messiah. Nachmanides took the book from his hand and reinterpreted the passage. Friar Arnol then cried out that the book lied. "Up to now, [Maimonides] was a great Sage with no one like him," Nachmanides wanted to know, "and now, he is a liar?" He turned and addressed the King directly: Maimonides is not wrong, he insisted, and read the passage "and the Lord will put a curse on thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee" (Deut. 30): "And I explained to them that the expression 'thine enemies' means the Christians, and the expression 'them that hate thee' means the Ishmaelites, the two people who have persecuted us."⁷⁹

Nahmanides counterattacked by stepping out of the idealized role of a Jew, by challenging the King, whom he was addressing. The session was then adjourned, with total silence on the Christian side. The next day, Nahmanides tried to level the field by asking the king for permission to speak first. The normal discourse between Christian and Jewish scholars presumed equality. The King declined to do so, but the rest of the dispute was a denouement after which the king sent the great sage home with 300 dinars. Nahmanides only sought to redress an unusually unfair situation. He put the king off guard by interpreting a well-known text in such a way as to impugn the king's treatment of Jews. It was a risky maneuver, one worthy of a *magister*, and all in all successful.

⁷⁹ *Vikuah*, pp. 130–133.

Conclusions

The forgoing considerations and examples suggest a social psychology of medieval scholarly interaction and exchange that includes, but is not necessarily limited to, the following propositions:⁸⁰

- (1) Intellectual exchanges are entered into in the mutual expectation of positive gain.
- (2) An intellectual exchange, while always involving knowledge, may also be expressed simultaneously in other currencies, such as social value.
- (3) Expectation of positive gain creates space that is neutral with respect to religious ideology.
- (4) The greater the perceived gain, the more the discourse will display ideological neutrality.
- (5) If an actor or actors step out of performance roles and display back-region behaviour "on stage", the neutrality disappears.
- (6) Shared elements of Abrahamic religion are hypertextual for all parties and may be drawn upon as a common data bank. (By "hypertextual" I mean the ability of discussants to draw upon specified Scriptural or theological referents from memory.) References specific to one religion only will, whenever possible, either be screened out or bracketed.
- (7) Certain broad paradigms (Aristotelian method; Ptolemaic cosmology; *ḥisāb al-Hind*, etc.) govern normal science among elites of the three religions.
- (8) Members of the paradigm group implicitly accept co-equality with all other members, regardless of religious affiliation, in a field of discourse limited to the paradigm in question, or to an Aristotelian "metaparadigm".
- (9) In this context, scholarly or textual "authority" is co-equal with the paradigm and is understood for purposes of scholarly interchange as having no relevance to anything beyond the perimeter of the paradigm under discussion.

⁸⁰ The propositions presuppose scholarly interaction freely entered into. If the "positive gain" is living, as opposed to dying, or living in exchange for conversion, then clearly the rules of normal interaction do not hold. When Nachmanides objected to the forced ground rules in the Dispute of Barcelona, he was signaling the staged nature of the "debate," whose outcome was determined in advance.

- (10) Interpersonal relations among members of a paradigm group can be understood as nested sets of Goffmanian performances (e.g., Jewish Aristotelians speak to Arab Aristotelians as Aristotelians, then as Jews/Arabs).
- (11) When in the Goffmanian mode, actors suspend ideological judgment and display epistemological modesty.
- (12) Information control acts to offset status differentiation in inter-group scholarly relations.
- (13) Translation as an interactive process (e.g., translation teams) presumes, and depends upon, a substantial level of epistemological modesty for it to take place, because each team member controls information that the other lacks.

“VASSAL AND FRIEND”.
STRATEGIES OF MUDEJAR SUBMISSION AND
RESISTANCE TO CHRISTIAN POWER IN CASTILE

Ana Echevarria

While Elena Lourie was asking for “further work [which] will uncover colleagues for Abraham el jenet, thus transforming an oddity into a documented social phenomenon”,¹ in 1978, W.D. Phillips was calling our attention to the Moorish body-guard of the kings of Castile (*guardia morisca* or *caballeros moriscos*) in the fifteenth century.² Phillips was interested in this guard as one of the many offices of the royal household. However, a more detailed study of the registers kept in the Archivo General de Simancas³ shows that the members of this body-guard are a real “social phenomenon”.

The existence of this guard was probably influenced by the Christian guard of the Nasrid kings, which was, on its turn, based on the Mamluk system established in Egypt and the Ottoman empire.⁴ Its members were recruited among Mudejars from Northern Castilian aljamas or Granadan knights who had quarrelled with their Muslim lords. These knights performed the duties of a body-guard by swearing their loyalty to the King; moreover, they contributed to the royal army in campaigns, as light cavalry, armed like the Islamic light cavalry. The groups of *jenets* (as they were called in Catalan and Valencian dialect) “de domo domini regis” were quite common in the Crown

¹ E. Lourie, “A Jewish Mercenary in the Service of the King of Aragon”, *Revue des études juives* 137, (1978) pp. 367–373; p. 373. All the articles by Prof. Lourie I will be citing are to be found in her volume of collected studies: *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*, (Aldershot 1990).

² W.D. Phillips, *Enrique IV and the crisis of fifteenth-century Castile*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) pp. 87–88. See also A. Echevarria, “La conversion des chevaliers musulmans dans la Castille du XV^e siècle”, in M. García-Arenal (ed.), *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, (Paris 2001) pp. 119–138.

³ Archivo General de Simancas, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Quitaciones de Cortes, legs. 1–4.

⁴ They were called *ma’luyūn* by Ibn Haldun and *mamālik* by Ibn al-Khatīb. See R. Arié, *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides, 1232–1492*, (Paris 1990) p. 244. See also J.E. López de Coca, “Caballeros moriscos al servicio de Juan II y Enrique IV, reyes de Castilla”, *Meridies* 3, (1996) pp. 119–136.

of Aragon as well. At the end of the thirteenth century, this term was used for the mounted Muslim mercenaries recruited from Granada and North Africa, appearing in the Aragonese royal registers. E. Lourie has shown that the presence of a Jew among these cavalrymen emphasized the multi-religious character of these guards.⁵ She discovered registers for a group of fifteen knights, who were paid a salary by King Alfonso III, and were granted a payment for their horses. The same is the case for the Castilian group. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a similar pattern of Christian knights under the command of Abenadalil, the Muslim captain of *jenets* in the thirteenth century and under the converso captain of the Castilian Moorish body-guard, García Ramírez de Jaén, in the fifteenth century. The institution lasted for another century in Aragon, given that King Pedro IV was asked by Pope Benedict XIII not to receive military instruction from them.⁶ The aim of this paper is, precisely, to illustrate the changes—both social and religious—undergone by the members of the Castilian body-guard, much more explicit in these registers than they are in those of Aragon, at least for the time being.

Moreover, mine is a tale of “fluid boundaries”, and how the people who crossed them had to build an identity, sometimes as a bridge between two cultures and religions. Scholars have suggested that conversion is not so much a change of faith as a change in social circumstances and that the acquisition of a higher social status was always an important motivation in the Middle Ages. However, I hope to show that this is not necessarily the case: a high social status can be maintained and conversion may be chosen; in other cases, where the political situation was the key to changing territories, conversion could help to keep one’s privileges, yet, some chose to remain Muslim.

Conversion posed several legal problems to both Islam and Christianity. For Islam, living inside the *Dār al-Harb* (the Land of War) was not desirable. Therefore, some Muslim religious scholars exhorted their co-religionists to leave, rather than come under Christian rule. In the thirteenth century, this recommendation was given on the grounds that the Christian kings never fulfilled their promises of

⁵ Lourie, “A Jewish Mercenary”, p. 369.

⁶ M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, “La organización militar en Cataluña en la Edad Media”, in *Los recursos militares en la Edad Media hispánica*, (Madrid 2001) pp. 119–222; p. 186.

to respect the faith and praxis of Muslims. By the fifteenth century, Castilian and Aragonese Mudejars sought advice from Granadan, Egyptian and North African scholars, who provided different answers to the question depending on their sympathies towards minorities.⁷ The idea of Muslims defending their faith and expanding Islam in the conquered territories was discarded by these theoreticians. The most famous of them was also the harshest, the Maghribi Aḥmad ibn Yahya al-Wansharīṣī (1431–1508). Worried by the fact that Granada was no longer a safe place where the rites of Islam could be practiced, he strongly recommended migration to Islamic lands in North Africa. But it should not be forgotten that it was precisely the kingdoms of Fez and Marrakesh which benefited most from Andalusī migration.

On the other hand, Christian canonists from the thirteenth century onwards “affirmed that Christians should not expel such communities without offending charity, and that these guest-communities had a right to administrative autonomy and freedom from conversion by force”.⁸ Although Alfonso the Wise (1252–1284) agreed with this point of view in his *Siete Partidas*,⁹ he encouraged conversion by the establishment of Mendicant convents close to the areas where Mudejars lived, so as to aid their indoctrination. Moreover, he insisted in defining the attitude towards converts from Christianity to Islam. Conversion to Islam could only be interpreted as a sudden attack of madness by those who had lost some relatives, or their possessions, or fallen prey to evil-doing. There was only one punishment possible, death, or severe penalties in case of repentance. Only one possibility was considered for the convert who returned to his old ‘faith and honour’¹⁰ in order to avoid punishment: he must render

⁷ See the articles by G. Wiegers and P.S. van Koningsveld, “The Islamic statute of the Mudejars in the light of a new source”, *al-Qantara* 17, (1996) pp. 19–58; K. Abou el-Fadl, “Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities”, *Islamic Law and Society* 1:2, (1994) pp. 141–186; K.A. Miller, “Muslim minorities and the obligation to emigrate to Islamic territory: two fatwas from fifteenth century Granada”, *Islamic Law and Society* 7:2, (2000) pp. 256–287.

⁸ R.I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader kingdom of Valencia*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1967) p. 59.

⁹ This code was the basis for all royal legislation during the following two centuries. On the other hand, the *Fuero Real* stated that the punishment for conversion to Islam should be death by fire. Alfonso X, *Opúsculos legales de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, (Madrid 1836) p. 117 (Lib.IV, tit.I, Ley I).

¹⁰ Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, (Salamanca 1555; facs. 1974) f. 77r–78r.

some good service to his former co-religionaries. Therefore, several types of conversion could be attempted by Mudejars or Granadan subjects—through indoctrination or at the frontier, after cooperating with Christian armies. The latter was also the way in which former Christians could return to their faith without being punished for apostasy. In both cases, those who wished to stay in Castile were accepted in royal circles.

The recruitment of men of another religion to serve as soldiers, doctors or translators was a common trend among Spanish rulers, both Muslim and Christian. These people proved to be the most reliable in turbulent periods. But their continuous interaction with the ruling class was often an occasion for their conversion and cultural assimilation into the society/religion in power at the particular time. One of the consequences of the conversion to Christianity in fifteenth-century Castile was precisely breaking through the barriers which the status of non-Christian imposed on social life. According to legal theory, being a Christian was imperative in order to hold an office at the royal court, or in the local government, or to be a judge. Other professions were also forbidden such as—in 1412—physicians, mid-wives, and even shoe-makers and merchants, but it has been proven that this legislation was not enforced until the end of the fifteenth century. Conversion, then, opened a door to public office in Castile, an easy way to go for people with ambition. But there was also a chance for social ascent within the margins of the Muslim community, as long as the power these men exercised remained within their group, and did not touch Christian spheres of power. We know of a number of jobs which were characteristic of the Mudejar population of Castile—namely, those related to the building and manufacturing industries, transport, medicine, commerce and royal *militias*. However, no attempt has been made to prove if any of these could provide a way of social ascent for a Muslim within the local community or even in the political field. We shall see that in fact, they did.

Another source of potential converts to Christianity was the frontier area of Granada,¹¹ where military contacts were kept up during

¹¹ Following the earlier studies by Ch. E. Dufourcq, J. Gautier-Dalché, R.I. Burns, and A.I. MacKay, a new discussion has been started by the latest historians of the frontier such as M. Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481)*, (Cadiz 1995); F. García Fitz, *Castilla y León frente al Islam*,

the fifteenth century. The existence of truces¹² between 1408 to 1455, and then from 1458 to 1475 was not an obstacle—not even a legal one—to engaging in partial fighting accross the border, as the text of the truces suggest. However, there was a sense of common identity between the societies on both sides of the frontier, who were of little interest, being peripheral, to the central government. Due to this distance, “they had to create their own semi-formal patterns of behaviour and mutual collaboration in order to survive”.¹³ There were high probabilities that those knights who were disfavoured by the Nasrids in Granada would cross the frontier and submit to the Christian king. Not only did they offer their military skills, but conversion was also involved in some cases.

Leaving the frontier aside, I wish to focus on two examples of members of the Mudejar *élite* who had interesting careers in the royal court, as vassals of the king. Their fortunes were based in commercial activity, although they worked closely with kings Juan II (1406–1454) and Enrique IV (1454–1474), as well as with the Aragonese king Alfonso V (1416–1458). One of them was *alcalde mayor de los moros de Castilla*,¹⁴ the other ambassador to Granada and both of them were knights in the Moorish body-guard, but only one of them converted. However, they both struggled to maintain their high social status as an *élite* within the minority.

Farax de Belvís was a member of a well-known Mudéjar family, with branches both in Aragon and Castile. The Bellvis were *alcadíes generales del reino de Valencia* (general judges of the Muslim community) during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁵ The Castilian branch

(Sevilla 1998); M. García Fernández (ed.), *La Banda Morisca durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV*, (Sevilla 1996).

¹² See J. Torres Fontes, “Las treguas con Granada de 1469 y 1472”, *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales* 4–5, (1979) pp. 211–236 and “Las treguas con Granada de 1462–63”, *Hispania* 90, (1963) pp. 163–199; J.E. López de Coca y Castañer, “Castilla, Granada y la tregua de 1443”, in *Estudios de Historia Medieval en Homenaje a Luis Suárez Fernández*, (Valladolid 1991); J.A. García Luján, *Treguas, guerra y capitulaciones con Granada (1457–1491)*, (Granada 1998).

¹³ F. Maillo, “Diacronía y sentido del termino elche”, *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 31, (1982) pp. 181–191; p. 85.

¹⁴ Equivalent to the Aragonese *alcadi general*, the title used by his relatives. I have gone into more detail about this appointment, and the family, in my article “De cadí a alcalde mayor. La élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV”, *al-Qantara*, (2003) pp. 77–106.

¹⁵ M.A. Varona García, “Judíos y moros ante la justicia de los Reyes Católicos. Cartas ejecutorias de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid (1476–1495)”, in *Proyección*

of the family crossed the border in the 1350s, led by Yahya de Bellvis, who established himself in Medinaceli, close to the Aragonese frontier, in order to undertake trading activities between Castile and Aragon for his family. They were wealthy enough to lend money to the Aragonese kings, in exchange for tax exemptions and other royal favours, such as the authorisation given to Yahya on 8 June 1345 to travel in Aragon on business.¹⁶ His connections with Granada are proven by his relations with a certain Yuçe de Málaga. Moreover, in 1362 Yahya and his brother Farax, who was menescal to the Aragonese king, were involved in the negotiation of an agreement with the King of Granada, Muḥammad V, who had been helped by Pedro I. Meanwhile, Pedro IV of Aragon was waiting to sign a truce with Granada. He was informed by Farax de Belvís himself that his brother Yahya had spoken to the Granadan ambassadors who returned from the Castilian royal court, and thought that the moment had come.¹⁷

It is hard to know what the allegiances of the Bellvis were on both sides of the frontier during the Castilian-Aragonese War (1356–67). The conflict probably caused the move of the family from the devastated frontier area of Medinaceli to the safer area of Guadalajara. This city had the advantage of being well away from the Castilian lines but at the same time close to Aragon, and their power bases. Guadalajara had always been under the cultural influence of Toledo. It was also a medium sized town with a developed cultural life. During Islamic rule it had an important position in the Northern line of defences. In Christian times, it had a market and a lively Mudejar aljama devoted to trade,¹⁸ and was situated on one of the

histórica de España en sus tres culturas, (Valladolid 1993), I, pp. 337–368, on p. 346. For his career, M.V. Febrer Romaguera, “Los Bellvis, una dinastía mudéjar de alcadies generales de Valencia, Aragón y principado de Cataluña”, *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*, (Teruel 1989) pp. 277–290; pp. 280–281. About his private life, J. Boswell, *The Royal Treasure. Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*, (New Haven 1977) pp. 43–50.

¹⁶ “Cum Jahia de Bellvis, de Medinaçellem, sarracenus comorans in Castella, recedens abinde veniat multociens cum aliquibus mercimoniis suis ad partes nostri dominii ubi, sicut audivimus, oportet eum per aliqua et diversa tempora remanere, ideo licet iuxta morem inter sarracenos nostri dominii observatum . . .”. ACA, C., reg. 878, f. 160 v. M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns de la Corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV*, (Barcelona 1987) p. 48, n. 36.

¹⁷ Dated 1362, august, 12. ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 1180, ff. 64 v–65 r, cf. M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV*, (Barcelona 1988) p. 158.

¹⁸ According to the complaint set by the Mudejar aljama in April 1485, asking

cañadas followed by migratory sheep flocks. Although there are no references for the fourteenth century, it is well known that the Bellvis traded goods in Almería around 1417. Later on, they extended their interests to Italy, Tunis and Alexandria, where they took part in the spice trade. They apparently owned an active company whose agents travelled along the Mediterranean between 1480–1490.¹⁹

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Castilian Belvís had climbed to the head of the Mudejar community due to special services to the Crown. They kept their family names as a sign of distinction, so another Yahya was appointed *alcalde mayor de la aljama* in Guadalajara, first, and for all Castile, around 1445. According to the sources, his son Farax de Belvís was a servant of the Master of the military order of Santiago, Alvaro de Luna, the most powerful man in Castile and favourite of King Juan II (1406–1454). In 1446, Farax was appointed as a member of the King's Moorish body-guard.²⁰

The Moorish knights, like the mercenary *jenets*, “were not always temporary visitors”, as Lourie has remarked. Just like the Granadan captain Abenadalill became the king's vassal and a member of the royal household for life, to be followed by his son, so did the captain and several knights of the Castilian Moorish body-guard.²¹ The special privileges and status they enjoyed make them a real *élite* among Mudejars. Their marriages with Mudejar or Christian women helped them to achieve an even better status in the royal court.²²

Most of the knights in the King's guard converted after one generation, suggesting a mechanism of assimilation. However in this case, the knights were not captives converted and trained, but volunteers who wanted to serve under the Christian king, usually for political reasons. Royal registers mention three generations of knights. The

for royal permission to work in the shops they owned outside the limits of the Muslim quarter. Registro General del Sello, abril 1485, f. 197. Cf. M.A. Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempo de Isabel I*, (Valladolid 1969) pp. 99–100.

¹⁹ M. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the age of Fernando and Isabel*, (Berkeley 1991) pp. 107, 141–142, 317.

²⁰ On the guard, see my article “La conversion des chevaliers musulmans dans la Castille du XV^e siècle”, in *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, (Paris 2001) pp. 119–138.

²¹ E. Lourie, “Anatomy of Ambivalence: Muslims under the Crown of Aragon in the Late Thirteenth Century”, in *Crusade and Colonization*, VII, pp. 1–77; p. 73.

²² For García Ramírez de Jaén, his marriage with one of the Queen's chambermaids was indeed a sign of status. See my article “Conversión y ascenso social en la Castilla del siglo XV: los casos de Farax de Belvís y García Ramírez de Jaén”, *Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, (Teruel 2002) vol. I, pp. 555–568.

knights who joined the guard from 1410 to 1420 still had Muslim names, and many of them left Castile after some years to live in Granada again. We can relate these facts to the political struggle which was taking place in the Islamic kingdom. But at the time when the knights were recorded in the books, around 1456–57, most of them had changed their names to Christian ones, which meant they had been baptised. Some of them also used their native place-name, or some still their father's name, following the Islamic custom. The former Muslim name is specified in several cases.²³ Those knights who remained Muslim normally returned to Granada some years later, profiting from changing political allegiances in the Islamic kingdom, or else were dismissed from Castile in the turbulent period between 1443 and 1467. For those who had converted, the only place to go was the frontier, where their skills were highly appreciated.

The number of Moorish guards around the King probably varied due to war casualties, returnees to Granada, etc. The records refer to one hundred knights. The *Crónica del Halconero* mentions five hundred Muslim knights who transferred to Juan II's army in Córdoba, but not all of them can be considered as Moorish guards. The *Chronicle of Henry IV* by Enríquez del Castillo, speaks of three hundred knights in the Granadan campaign, and French ambassador Phillippe de Commynes writes in his *Memories* that there were more or less the same number at the interview between Enrique IV and Louis XI of France at the Basque border in 1462. More moderate numbers, some twenty-five men at one time, are found in service at the royal court in 1462.²⁴

However, this was not the case of Farax de Belvís. Soon after he was mentioned as a body-guard, he appears as *alcalde mayor de los moros* in a record from the *aljama* of Avila. In 1452 he was appointed as tax-collector for the taxes of the *aljamas* of Andalusia, whereas faqih Ali al-Xarafi collected those of the Kingdom of Toledo, and Hamete Carretón those from Old Castile. This means that Farax not only refused conversion, but he managed to perform simultane-

²³ It should be noted that, whereas the knights tend to convert and bear a Christian name, people working as master builders usually keep their Muslim names.

²⁴ D. Enríquez del Castillo, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, (ed.) A. Sánchez Martín, (Valladolid 1994) p. 150; P. Carrillo de Huete, *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*, (ed.) J. de M. Carriazo, (Madrid 1946) pp. 71–115; Phillippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, (ed.) J. Calmette (Paris 1924), I, p. 136.

ously several duties related to the Muslim community on behalf of the monarchy. When Enrique IV succeeded his father, Farax de Belvis confirmed his office as member of the body-guard and was registered in the books, although he only received payment in 1455.

After this date we lack sources about Farax de Belvis for a number of years. According to his own words, he had been appointed *alcalde mayor de los moros* of the aljama of Guadalajara, his native-town, by Enrique IV. By 1476 he was also *alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros*:²⁵

Since King Don Juan our father of holy memory, [. . .] for many and good services made by don Yahya de Belvis, Moor, neighbour of the city of Guadalajara, granted him for his whole life the title of chief *alcalde* of all the aljamas of Muslims of their realms of Castile, and for this purpose he gave him his charter of privilege, signed with his

²⁵ "Por cuanto el rey don Joan nuestro padre, de gloriosa memoria, cuya anima Dios aya, por los muchos y buenos servicios que don Yahya de Belvis, moro, vezino de la çibdad de Guadalajara, ovo fecho, le fizo merçed para que en toda su vida fuese su *alcalde mayor* de todas las aljamas de los moros de sus reynos y señoríos de Castilla, de lo qual le dio su carta de previllejo firmada de su nonbre y sellada con su sello. El qual dicho don Yaya da Belvis vso del dicho ofiçio paçíficamente fasta que murio. E porque vos, don Farax de Belvis, su fijo, veçino de la dicha çibdad, soys persona abill e, ydonia y sufiçiente e pertenesçiente para vsar del dicho ofiçio, e por muchos, buenos e leales serviçios que fezistes al dicho rey don Juan nuestro padre y al señor don Enrrique nuestro hermano, cuyas animas Dios aya, y aveys fecho y fazedes de cada día, e por vos fazer bien y merçed e asy mismo porque nos lo suplico e pido por merçed don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça, duque del Infantadgo, marques de Santillana, conde del Real, nuestro tío y del nuestro consejo, por la presente vos fazemos merçed del dicho ofiçio de *alcaldia mayor* de todas las aljamas de los moros de todos nuestros regnos e señoríos, y segund e por la forma e manera que lo fue el dicho don Yaya de Belvis, vuestro padre, e con aquellas mismas prerrogativas y franquezas y libertades e facultades e ymnunidades que se contienen en la carta de previllejo quel dicho señor rey don Juan nuestro padre dio al dicho don Yaya de Belvis vuestro padre, non enbargante qualquier merçed o merçedes que del dicho ofiçio ovo fecho el dicho señor rey don Enrrique nuestro hermano, e ayamos nosotros fecho a qualquier posesyon o posesyones que del tengan, que nos por la presente como reyes y señores revocamos y anulamos a damos por ninguna las tales merçedes, y qualesquier cartas e privilejos que dello tengan queremos que non valan nin consygan en sy ningund efecto e valor, salvo esta merçed que vos nos lazamos a vos el dicho don Farax de Belvis: e queremos e es nuestra voluntad que despues de vuestros días aya el dicho ofiçio de *alcaldia mayor* de las dichas aljamas de los dichos moros Yahya de Belvis, vuestro fijo con las mismas fuerças, firmezas, prerrogativas, facultadas que en el dicho privilejo del dicho don Yaya de Belvis vuestro padre se contiene." Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Registro General del Sello, f. 570 and Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Cartulario real 1453–78, fols. 263–264. J. Torres Fontes, "El *alcalde mayor* de las aljamas de moros de Castilla", *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 32, (1962) pp. 175–180.

name and sealed with his seal. And since you, don Farax de Belvís, his son, neighbour of the aforementioned city, you are a skilled, suitable, efficient and appropriate to fill the said office, and for the many good and loyal services you have performed for the said King Juan our father, and master King Enrique, our brother, [. . .]. And also because we were required and asked for this mercy by don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Duke of Infantado, Marquis of Santillana, Earl of el Real, our uncle and member of our council, hence we grant you the said office of chief *alcaldia* of all the aljamas of the Muslims in all our kingdoms and realms, in the same way as the aforementioned Yahya de Belvis, your father, was. [. . .] And we wish and it is our will that after your life, your son Yahya de Belvís will have the said office of chief *alcaldia* of all the aljamas of the Muslims, with the same strengths, firmness, prerogatives and faculties which are contained in the said charter of privilege of your father's, Yahya de Belvis.

Unfortunately, another man, Abraham al-Xarafi, claimed this office, so a lawsuit followed, whose sentence favouring al-Xarafi is kept in the Real Chancillería of Valladolid (1490–92). Farax's appointment to this office is not strange, since his father had already held the position. But it is very likely that his relatives Mahomat de Bellvis and Ali de Bellvis, *alcadís* in Valencia from 1447–84 and 1484–1510, respectively, used their influence—and perhaps their money—to back the family's position in Castile. Ali de Bellvis's negotiations in 1417 before the king of Granada about the silk monopoly may illustrate one of the areas of commerce held by the family. Their work as translators was not very rewarding, but provided them with the necessary safeconducts and the excuse to travel to Granada, which they needed so much for their business transactions.²⁶

It is obvious that the linkage of the Belvís family with the religious and civil role of the *alcaldes mayores* prevented their members from converting, unlike the military role played by other knights. The strong religious identity in a family where Arabic was probably still spoken and Islamic law studied, must have contributed to Farax's resistance to Christian influence.²⁷

²⁶ R. Salicrú i Lluich, *Documents per a la història de Granada del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416–1458)*, (Barcelona 1999) pp. 28–31, 48–49, 81–82. They were not the only case, as in 1480 the faqih Omar of Segovia and Mahomat Calderero were authorised to travel to Granada so as to bring back to Castile some Mudejars who had emigrated there: AGS, Registro General del Sello, febrero 1480, f. 56.

²⁷ Sh. Sandomirsky and J. Wilson, "Processes of disaffiliation", *Social Forces* 68, (1990) pp. 1214–1215.

Until now, we have seen the social ascent of a Mudejar who did not convert to Christianity, but nevertheless had an interesting political career in Castile. Now let us turn to our other example, Alī Arramoní (or Barramoní) a man with a complex career, both as a Muslim, and when he decided to emigrate to Castile and founded a presumably powerful convert family. His political activity between Valencia and Granada, in the first stage, and between Granada and Toledo in the second stage, provides good evidence, which helps to understand the dynamics of being on the boundaries of cultural interchange.

There are records of the Al-Barramoní family in Valencia from mid-fourteenth century. In 1355 Fat al-Barramoní was *qadī* (judge) of the Muslim community. He translated some population charts from Arabic to Catalan or Aragonese (Fondeguilla and Castro), together with Abraham Avenxuay, *qadī* of Játiva and the Queen's menescal.²⁸ Another relative was a trader who had commercial contacts with Oran in 1383. Carmen Barceló thinks that the Barramoní might have been a commercial clan settled in Valencia, with factories in Granada or viceversa.

Early in the fifteenth century, a certain Azmet Barramoní was "apothecarius sarracenus commorans in civitate Valencia". Alī Barramoní and Ament Barramoní, were also citizens of Valencia (1408). Their contacts with Granada must have been frequent, and they might have lived there during part of the year. In 1405, Alī Barramoní took a number of Christian captives with him from Granada after the signing of a truce with Aragon.²⁹ On 26 february 1406, Alī al-Barramoní acted as messenger for the King of Granada, and in 1407 the Baile General of Valencia granted him a safeconduct to go to "Alcudia, en Berbería, a Alī Albarramoní serrahí de Granada" with his son Abrafim and thirteen Muslims from Granada who had been rescued in Valencia "per vigor dels capítols de la treva que és stada fermada entre lo senyor rei e lo rei de Granada".³⁰ Between 1409–10

²⁸ C. Barceló, *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano. Historia y dialecto*, (Valencia 1984), p. 147.

²⁹ J. Hinojosa Montalvo, "Las relaciones entre los reinos de Valencia y Granada en la primera mitad del s. XV", in *Estudios de Historia de Valencia* 1, (1978) pp. 91–160; p. 95.

³⁰ The records are in Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Bailía 1144, f. 125, 190. Cf. C. Barceló, *Minorías islámicas*, p. 40.

he was again in Aragon, more precisely, in Barcelona, negotiating a truce with Granada. While he supported Jaime de Urgel in his claim to the Aragonese throne at the death of Martin I, he gave a famous speech inciting Aragonese Muslims to emigrate to Granada.³¹ This manifesto has been published several times, but scholars disagree as to its intentions. According to some authors it was intended to cause Mudejars to rise against the king of Aragon. Others maintain that he intended to include it as a clause in the truce which he was negotiating, allowing Mudejars to move from one place to another. Since the truce was never signed, we shall never know if it included such a clause.

As in other cases, we know nothing about Alī Barramoni's trajectory during the following years. It can be assumed that he opposed Muhammad IX, for, as he had served Yusuf III, it seems logical that he should support Yusuf's son Muhammad VIII or Yusuf IV. Perhaps this was the reason why he emigrated to Castile, probably in 1435, together with other knights who were led by the famous Abenámár.³² Certainly, in 1436, Alī Arramoni "being a Muslim, became a Christian" in Castile, being baptised as Juan de Tarifa.³³

³¹ R. Salicrú, *El sultanat de Granada i la Corona d'Aragó (1410-1458)*, (Barcelona 1998) pp. 39, 53, 58-61, 180.

³² Carrillo de Huete, *Crónica*, p. 235. Barrientos, Lope, *Refundición de la Crónica del Halconero*. (ed.) J. de M. Carriazo, (Madrid: 1946) p. 206, Cf. R. Salicrú, *El sultanat de Granada y la Corona de Aragón*, (Barcelona 1998) p. 349.

³³ "Iohan de Tarifa, adalid, que le llamavan quando moro Ali Arramoni. Mandole el rey librar en ración cada día por su alvala firmado de su nombre, el anno que paso de 1436 annos e dende en adelante en cada anno 12 maravedis que tenia en ración cada día Alfonso de Eçija, ques fynado, que le montan al anno 4.320 maravedis, e mas las 12 varas de ypre que Alfonso de Eçija tenia en cada anno para su vistuario por quanto el dicho Juan de Tarifa, seyendo moro, se torno cristiano. E despues embio el rey mandar el anno que paso de 1453 annos que sean librados al dicho Juan de Tarifa qualesquier maravedis quel del dicho sennor rey tenia o toviese en qualquier manera en las rentas de la çibdad de Toledo, en los recabadores que son o fueren della, e que su merçed es que le non sea descontado terçio alguno.

E que le acresçento el rey mas el anno que paso de 1453 annos los 12 maravedis e 12 varas de ypre que de su merçed tenia Fernando de Cordova, cavallero morisco, por quanto es fynado, que le montan al anno 3.600 maravedis, e las dichas 12 varas de ypre que son por todos 7.920 maravedis e 24 varas de ypre. E despues embio el rey mandar por una su carta de facultad a los sus contadores mayores que son o fueren de aquí adelante que sy el dicho Juan de Tarifa finire, que los dichos maravedis queden en el fijo o fijas quel quisiere e los pueda renunçiar en ellos syn aver otro alvala nin mandamiento de su sennoria. E que despues sy los dichos sus fijos fallestieren antes quel, que se tornen al dicho Juan de Tarifa. E otro sy que los maravedis que los dichos sus fijos agora tyenen o tovieren, que sy

He received in exchange a salary of 4.320 maravedís and twelve measures of cloth for his wardrobe, and the rank of *adalid*. The hierarchy of command of the guard was that established by Alfonso X in his *Siete Partidas*. The registers speak of a captain, seven *adalides*—one of whom was Juan de Tarifa—one *almocadén*, a bombardier, and the rest were known in general as *caballeros moriscos*.³⁴

From that date, the recently converted Juan de Tarifa became a knight of the king's guard, and achieved special treatment: his salary was paid in Toledo, a privilege which few guards enjoyed, and between 1444–46 his three sons—already converted as Pedro de Soto, Diego de Baena and Juan de Tarifa—were admitted to the body-guard. In 1453, his salary was increased to 7.290 maravedís, which his sons could inherit, and likewise, he was authorised to inherit his sons' salaries if they died before him. He was in charge of collecting the rents for all the family in Toledo. There, he might have had some business which enabled him to act as guarantor for other knights,³⁵ since his salary as a guard would have never paid for such expenses. Nothing indicates that they gave up their original business.

It must be stressed that the Albarramoni's conversion did not take place in Valencia, where they had houses and commercial interests, but in the kingdom of Castile, thus confirming a trend among converts from Judaism: the fact that all of them put some distance between themselves and their community of origin.³⁶

A common feature of both families discussed here was dedication to trade, and their being categorised as rich merchants, far from the humble professions normal to other Mudejars. As we have seen, both families were able to maintain cross-contacts between Castile, Aragon and Granada.³⁷ Thus, it is not strange to find a series of registers

fallaçieren antes quel, tornen a el". AGS, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Quitaciones de Corte, leg. 1, 53, 55.

³⁴ For a definition of these officers, see E. Lourie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain", *Past and Present* 35, (1966) pp. 54–76; pp. 71–72; M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, "La organización militar en Cataluña", p. 183.

³⁵ "Enbargados por mandado de contadores por que se desligo de mancomun con Garsia Fernandes cavallero morisco el anno de [14]44 en 8.500 dineros quel dicho García dio en fiança de su ración e vistuario el dicho anno de [14]44; e el dicho Juan de Tarifa se obligo [en] su fiador". AGS, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Quitaciones de Corte, leg. 1, 53.

³⁶ M. García Arenal, "Dreams and Reason: Autobiographies of converts in religious polemics", in *Conversions islamiques*, pp. 89–118; pp. 94–95.

³⁷ Although it seems that monopolies in Granada were not given to Mudejars, as R. Salicrú has recently argued. See R. Salicrú: "The Catalano-Aragonese

bearing witness to commercial exchanges and trade throughout the Iberian peninsula. Queen Isabella issued a safe-conduct on 17 January 1475 for some Mudejar merchants travelling from Daroca, in Aragon, to Castile to sell their goods.³⁸ Unfortunately, there is a blank space instead of the names of these Muslims. All this traffic suggests that current opinion about the immobilization of Mudejars in their neighbourhoods should be revised. It may well be that after the Cortes held in Toledo in 1480, the prohibition to move was applied, but its enforcement before that date is questionable.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise the fact that because these men were on the borders of two religious communities, they were employed in positions involving some kind of mediation between these groups. But it is nonetheless true that they also used these posts as a way of social promotion, or rather, to preserve their social status. Nevertheless, conversion does not seem to have been necessary for achieving this goal, although it could clearly be of help when settling in Christian society, without the limitations imposed on Mudéjars in fifteenth-century Castile. Those who remained within the Islamic community would always be able to climb socially within this environment, constituting an *élite* on which more and more information is being discovered.

commercial presence in the sultanate of Granada during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous", *Journal of Medieval History* 27, (2001) pp. 289–312. There is more relevant bibliography in this article concerning the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia.

³⁸ AGS, Registro General del Sello, January 1475, f. 51.

THE ISLAMIC 'BEAUTIFUL NAMES OF GOD' AND THE LULLIAN ART

Charles Lohr

The *Ars* of Ramon Lull (d. 1316) describes a transcendental method of production, meant to provide not an Aristotelian abstract science (as Latin Scholasticism did), but rather an Aristotelian productive art, as the idea had been developed in the Arabic tradition. Because Lull's Art is concerned with the production of *maxima*—perfections which are infinite or approach infinity—Lull understood it as a transcendental discipline applicable to all the individual disciplines known to the medieval period. Because it deals with *maxima*, Lull also thought of his Art as providing proofs which approach strict demonstration in all these disciplines. Lull began not with propositions, as in the Aristotelian, 'scientific' methods of proof, but took simple concepts as the principles of this new generalized discipline. Lull called these concepts *dignitates*, translating the Greek *axiomata*. But they are not axioms in the sense of an Aristotelian 'science' nor are they transcendentals like the *unum*, *verum* and *bonum* of which Thomas Aquinas spoke. Thomas' transcendentals are a function of his and his contemporaries' strict conception of knowledge as Aristotelian abstract science, whereas Lull's principles are the 'beginnings' of successful productive action. In the final redaction of the Art Lull named nine such principles: *bonitas*, *magnitudo*, *duratio*; *potentia*, *sapientia*, *voluntas*; *virtus*, *veritas*, *gloria*.

Lull's Art was to be a method of production, imitative of God's great work of art in creation. Because his principles concern the production of *maxima*—matching the limitless results of the divine action—he was able to find them among the Islamic names of the Creator. In effect, the Lullian Art seeks to approach the Creator through a method of contemplation on the divine names. It seems that the origin of the *dignitates* is to be found in a Muslim method of contemplation which seeks to ascend by way of created images from the finite perfections of the world we know to the infinite perfection which God is. For this reason, Lull was convinced that through his Art agreement could be attained among the religions of the world—

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Through the Art man should himself create a new world in which concord might reign.¹

Lull's *dignitates* can be found among the divine names which play an important part in Muslim devotion. Pious Muslims have always revered the mystery of the name which at one and the same time designates and veils the named. The Quran proclaims that 'to God belong the most beautiful names' (VII 179–180; cf. XVII 110, XX 3). Sura LIX 22–24 gives 13 such names:

²² He is Allah, there is no God but He, Knower of the hidden and the revealed. He is the Merciful (*al-Rahmān*), the Compassionate (*al-Rahīm*).

²³ He is Allah, there is no God but He, the King, the Holy One, the Flawless, the Faithful, the Protector (Guardian), the Sublime (Eminent), the Overruling (Compeller), the Majestic (Proud); glory be to Allah, beyond whatever they associate (with Him).

²³ He is Allah the Creator, the Maker (Producer), the Former (Fashioner). To Him belong the most beautiful names; to Him gives glory whatever is in the heavens and the earth. He is the Sublime, the Wise.

A list of 99 names culled from the Quran and Muslim tradition became a recognized method of prayer in Islam. Among the traditions was one transmitted by Abū Huraya, a companion of the Prophet, which proclaimed: 'To God belong 99 names . . . whosoever knows the 99 names will enter paradise'. Muslim theologians wrote a great number of commentaries on this list of the divine names. Seeking to determine what the names attributed to God mean, they emphasized that the names recall the attributes whereby God has made himself known in revelation and which connect human experience with the divine realm. The names are the basis of man's knowledge of God and of the realization of man's own perfection.² Lull wrote a tract *De centum nominibus Dei* which refers to this idea.

Among the 99 traditional names we can find correspondences for all the nine *dignitates* in the final version of the Lull's Art. Although

¹ The best introduction to the utopian world of Ramon Lull is the work of R. Pring-Mill, *El microcosmos lul·lià*, (Catalan original, Oxford 1962); German trans. by U. Roth, *Der Mikrokosmos Ramon Llulls*, (Stuttgart 2001).

² D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam: Exégèse lexicographique et théologique*, (Paris 1988); see also L. Gardet, 'Al-asmā' al-husnā', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², I, (1960) pp. 714–717. Cf. M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Aṣ'arī et de ses premiers grands disciples*, (Beyrouth 1965).

there are many seeming synonyms among the names, we can perhaps risk listing the following correspondences, numbering the names as in the Muslim tradition:

bonitas	02 al-Raḥmān	The Merciful, the Beneficent
magnitudo	38 al-Kabīr	The Great
duratio	al-Dahr	The Eternal
potestas	69 al-Qadīr	The Powerful
sapientia	20 al-ʿAlīm	The Knowing
voluntas	al-Murīd	The Purposing
virtus	09 al-ʿAzīz	The Almighty, the Omnipotent
veritas	52 al-Ḥaqq	The Truly Real, the Truth
gloria	49 al-Majīd	The All-Glorious, the Perfect

Traditionally, a distinction was made between the attributes of God's essence and the attributes of God's acts in creation. The 'attributes of the essence'—the Powerful, the Knowing, the Purposing, the Speaking, the Hearing, the Seeing, the Living One—correspond to Lull's second triad, names like the All-Seeing and the All-Hearing being often taken as equivalent to the All-Knowing One. In the *Book of the Fabulous Gryphon* of the great thirteenth-century Sufi mystic, Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240), the 'attributes of the essence' are thus listed: *al-Qadīr*, *al-Murīd*, *al-ʿAlīm* (the Powerful, the Purposing, the Knowing) along with Living, Seeing, and the rest.³

Some of the names, like *murīd* (purposing), have a 'technical' character and are borrowed from the language of the *kalām*.⁴ But some theologians—Abū Mansūr al-Baghdādī (d. 1037), for example—did not hesitate to mix them with names taken from the Quran and the hadith.⁵ The inclusion of names concerned with intention and volition seems to have led to a distinction among the names which

³ G.T. Elmore (ed.), *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Book of the Fabulous Gryphon'*, (Leiden 1999) at p. 339. On Ibn al-ʿArabī see H. Corbin, *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ʿArabī*, (Princeton, NJ 1969); T. Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts*, (Berkeley, CA 1983), and above all two works of W.C. Chittick, *Ibn al-ʿArabī's Metaphysics of Imagination: The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, (Albany, NY 1989) and *Principles of Ibn al-ʿArabī's Cosmology: The Self-Disclosure of God*, (Albany, NY 1998). The essential attributes are made an article of a Muslim creed, commonly known as *Sanūsiyya*, of fifteenth-century Maghreb; see W.M. Watt, *Islamic Creeds*, (Edinburgh 1994) pp. 90–97.

⁴ Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, p. 110.

⁵ Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, p. 110.

would become crucial for Lull's understanding. Al-Baghdādī divided the names into intransitive and transitive. The intransitive names do not imply the existence of anything other than God himself, as for example 'the Eternal', 'the Living'. But the transitive names imply a connection between God and another thing, as the names 'Powerful' (*qādir*), 'Knowing' (*ālīm*), 'Creator' (*khāliq*), which necessarily imply the decreed (*maqdūr*), the known (*ma'lūm*), the creature (*makh'lūq*).⁶ Readers of Lull will recognize in these past participles a foreshadowing of his theory of the correlatives.⁷

Al-Baghdādī's distinction of intransitive and transitive names can have been due to the influence of Avicenna (d. 1037)—or perhaps the other way around. Avicenna introduced the notion of 'relation' (*idāfa*) and the notion of 'negation' (*salb*) into the consideration of the divine names. For Avicenna the attributes of God—with the exception of existence—are 'purely relative' (*idāfiyya maḥḍa*), or 'purely negative' (*salbiyya maḥḍa*), or composed of relation and negation.⁸ In his Persian *Danesh Nameh*—known in the West through al-Ghazālī's Arabic *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*, a work well-known to Ramon Lull who used it for his first work on logic—Avicenna sought to demonstrate that the necessary being can have numerous attributes without that resulting in a plurality in his essence. He explained that the first attribute of God is that of existence. But if we say that He is 'one, unique,' we say that He exists, while at the same time negating His divisibility. If we say He is 'the First,' we take His existence relatively to that of all other existents. If we say 'willing' (*murīd*), we assert a relation between God and that which exists, implying that He is the principle of all of it.⁹

The great theologian, al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), made use of these ideas in commenting on the second and third of God's names, *al-Raḥmān*, *al-Raḥīm*.¹⁰ He tells us that

⁶ Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, p. 108.

⁷ Compare Chittick, *Metaphysics*, p. 60 with J. Gayà, *La teoría lulliana de los correlativos: Historia de su formación conceptual*, (Palma de Mallorca 1979).

⁸ Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, p. 110 f.

⁹ M. Achena and H. Massé, *Avicenne: Le livre de science*, 2 vols., (Paris 1955–58) I, pp. 148–150.

¹⁰ D.B. Burrell et al. (trans.), *Al-Ghazālī: The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God* (al-Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā), (Cambridge 1992). Cf. D.B. Burrell, 'Ghazali and Aquinas on the Names of God', *Journal of Literature and Philosophy*

'The Infinitely Good, the Merciful' are two names derived from 'mercy'. Mercy requires an object of mercy, and no one is an object of mercy unless he be in need. Yet the one by whom the needs of the needy are fulfilled will not be called merciful if that is accomplished without intention, volition, or concern for the one in need (Burrell 52–53).

Although al-Ghazālī's emphasis is on mercy and the neediness of mercy's object, it is clear that he regards mercifulness as the first of the 'attributes of God's acts' in creation and a transitive name, implying a relationship between the Creator and the needy. Al-Ghazālī's conception of the divine mercy—which Burrell translates as 'the Infinitely Good', making it correspond to Lull's *bonitas*—leads him to a distinction between two types of object, a distinction—also important for Lull—between a first and a second intention, not in the Scholastic logical sense, but rather in a more general sense common among Muslim thinkers. He distinguishes between the unadulterated good which is intended for itself and the good which is intended for the sake of the first intention, giving the example of amputation. Since amputating say a hand is a way to achieve health, amputation is intended for the sake of that good. Health is an object sought for itself first, and amputation not for itself, but as a second intention, for the sake of the first intention.¹¹ The terms can be found in the philosophical encyclopedia of the so-called 'Brethren of Purity' and thence in many Muslim thinkers. This school explained that the first intention of the Creator in the production of the world is the permanence and welfare of creatures, whereas corruption and pain are accidental and due to the imperfection of the matter which is necessary for creation.¹²

The distinction was important, especially for Sufi mystics in the West. They spoke, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us in the account of Sufi doctrine in his great *Muqaddimah*,¹³ of 'straightforwardness' (*ikhlaṣ*)—recalling Lull's idea of *recta intentio*, that is, choosing the first before

3, (1989) pp. 173–178 and M. Idel, 'Defining Kabbalah: The Kabbalah of the Divine Names', in R.A. Herrera (ed.), *Mystics of the Book*, (New York 1993) pp. 97–122.

¹¹ *Al-Ghazālī: The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names*, p. 55 f.

¹² *Ikhwān*, III.9.8 (Diwald 471 et passim).

¹³ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah; An Introduction to History*, (trans.) F. Rosenthal, 3 vols., VI 16 (The Science of Sufism), (New York 1958) III, pp. 76–103 esp. pp. 80–82.

the second intention (sin being regarded as the reversal of this order)—as the condition of the removal of the veil of sense perception and the ascent of the soul to higher forms of knowledge. Lull's list of the divine names seems indeed to be related rather to Andalusian commentators than to Eastern sources. It is possible that his list did not have *rahmān* among the divine names, but rather *muḥsin* (beneficent), which would perhaps correspond better to Lull's version *bonitas*. It seems that the name *muḥsin* was current in the Muslim West, being listed among the divine names and commented by both of the leading Andalusian mystics, the twelfth-century Ibn Barrajān (d. 1141),¹⁴ and Ibn al-ʿArabī.¹⁵ Both of these authors also comment—in a way which sets them off from other commentators—on the term *dahr* for 'eternal', which would agree with Lull's *duratio*, 'the infinity of time, without beginning or end'. The other Arabic terms used for God's eternity commented on by other authors imply either 'without beginning' (eternity *a parte ante*) like *qadīm*, or 'without end' (eternity *a parte post*) like *bāqī*.¹⁶ Moreover, as we have seen, the 'attributes of the essence' listed in Lull—*potestas*, *sapientia*, *voluntas*—match those cited by Ibn al-ʿArabī—*al-Qadīr*, *al-ʿAlīm*, *al-Murīd*—whereas a great many other names also appear in the tradition. Finally, Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote, as did Lull, works which contain dialogues among the personified divine names; in his *Book of the Gryphon* the divine name, 'the purposer' (*al-Murīd*)—corresponding to Lull's *voluntas*—debates with other names in an eternal conference, the dialogue being accompanied by a diagram,¹⁷ recalling Lull's methods of presentation.

The idea of the Creator as purposeful architect—as 'artist'—belongs also to this tradition. In commenting on the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth names of God, the Creator, the Producer, the Fashioner (*al-Khāliq*, *al-Bārī*?, *al-Muṣawwir*), the names enumerated by the Prophet in the Sura (LIX 24) cited above, al-Ghazālī (whose works were well known in the West and fundamental for the Andalusian school) makes further distinctions which are relevant for Lull's ideas. He tells us that although these names all refer to creating and inventing, they are not synonyms:

¹⁴ P. de la Torre (ed.), *Ibn Barrajān: Sarḥ asma' Allah al-ḥusnā* (Comentario sobre los nombres más bellos de Dios), (2000).

¹⁵ Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, p. 388. But cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *El secreto de los nombres de Dios*, (ed.) P. Beneito, (Murcia 1997).

¹⁶ Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, pp. 163–190 esp. p. 186f. Cf. W.M. Watt, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², IV, (1965) p. 94 f. s.v. 'Dahr'.

¹⁷ Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood*, pp. 353–371; Chittick, *Metaphysics*, pp. 52–58.

everything which comes forth from nothing to existence needs first of all to be planned: secondly, to be originated according to the plan; and thirdly, to be formed after being originated. God—may He be praised and exalted—is creator inasmuch as He is the planner, producer inasmuch as He initiates existence, and fashioner inasmuch as He arranges the forms of the things invented in the finest way (Burrell 68).

The idea that the Creator first plans creation before bringing the cosmos into being reminds us of the notion of the Divine Throne which Ibn al-ʿArabī inserted between the Neoplatonic emanations and the concrete things of this world in enumerating the levels of creation. Ibn al-ʿArabī's purpose was to recall the infinite, intentional possibilities present at the Divine Throne where the cosmos takes shape. God on the Divine Throne is the architect—again, the 'artist'—who produces everything he has devised in his mind about the things he wants to make manifest. The Throne has no existence as such, but comprises all the infinite possible things which are entities as the objects of God's knowledge. The Throne defines the sphere of the intelligibility of all things. Through the relationships it establishes between God and creation, the Throne is the reality that bridges the chasm separating Creator and cosmos.¹⁸ Lull's idea of *chaos* as a vast realm of possible things subject to God's infinite power seems to be directly related to these notions.¹⁹

Ibn al-ʿArabī described the cosmos as a circle. He divided all things into Necessary Being, Possible Things and the Impossible and presented the cosmos as situated between light and darkness. At the center of the circle Necessary Being is sheer light. The space outside the circumference, the Impossible, is utter darkness. The circle itself encompasses all Possible Things and is light mixed with darkness. The circle is made up of the genera of all possible things. The genera contain all the species, and the species all the individual things under them.²⁰

Following the inspiration of Ibn al-ʿArabī, Lull used letters of the alphabet to designate the levels of the cosmos, reserving the first letter A for God himself. He situated the letter A at the center of his cosmic circle as the first of the most beautiful names. Although the

¹⁸ Chittick, *Principles*, pp. xxviii–xxxii.

¹⁹ C. Lohr, 'The Arabic Background to Ramon Lull's *Liber chaos*', *Traditio* 55, (2000) pp. 159–170 esp. pp. 168–170.

²⁰ Chittick, *Principles*, pp. 227–237.

names in Lull's third triad of *dignitates*—Omnipotence, Truth, Perfection, *virtus, veritas, gloria*—are meant to convey a maximum degree of creative intensity, his new method—his new *Ars*—points—as does the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī—even beyond the Creator God to the divine essence, the God in whom all the divine names coincide. Al-Ghazālī, in whose footsteps both Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ramon Lull followed, gives us the best and most simple commentary on this, the first of the names:

(Allāh) is a name for the true existent, the one who unites the attributes of divinity, is subject of the attributes of lordship, and unique in true existence. . . .

This name is the greatest of the ninety-nine names of God—great and glorious—because it refers to the essence which unites all the attributes of divinity, so that none of them is left out, whereas each of the remaining names only refers to a single attribute: knowledge, power, agency, and the rest. . . .

It is conceivable that man appropriate something of the meanings of the rest of the names, to the point that the name be used of him—as in 'the Merciful', 'the Knowing' . . . and the rest; although the name is used of him in a way quite different from its use for God—great and glorious. Yet the meaning of this name, Allāh, is so specific that it is inconceivable that it be shared (Burrell 51).

Ramon Lull thus seems to have been quite familiar with the Islamic doctrine of the 99 beautiful names of God. In its earlier forms he also employed various others of the names, '*misericordia*,' '*justitia*,' '*largitas*,' '*dominium*,' '*patientia*,' but omitted them in the simplified, final version of the Art.²¹ He knew also the doctrine of the 'attributes of essence', and gave the attributes '*potentia*,' '*sapientia*,' '*voluntas*,' a central place among his *dignitates*.

Some acquaintance with the Muslim doctrine will help us to distinguish the *dignitates* from the Scholastic transcendentals. The Muslim names do not stand for ontological realities, because the divine essence would become multiple through them; the names designate rather intelligible realities—relationships. For example, the *knowledge* (*ʿilm*) of Zayd is a real attribute (*sifa*) belonging to Zayd; from it the epithet, the qualificative (*wasf*), '*knowing*' (*ʿalīm*), is derived. But because there cannot be a knower without an object of knowledge, this name

²¹ See E.W. Platzeck, *Raimund Lull: Sein Leben, seine Werke, die Grundlagen seines Denkens* (Prinzipienlehre), (Düsseldorf 1962) I, p. 107.

demands two correlative terms (*mutadā'if*), the name itself (*'alīm*) and the *known* (*ma'lūm*). Ibn al-ʿArabī applied these ideas to the various divine attributes, and employed the same principles even when speaking of the divine names. He often uses the past participles derived from the various divine attributes (*ma'lūm* < *'ilm*), maintaining, for example, that even in God there cannot be a knower without an object known and that the attributes are consequently relationships or correlations (*idāfa*). The Shaykh calls these relationships 'attributes'. Knowledge is a real quality in Zayd, but when we speak of God, although knowledge can really be 'attributed' to Him, it is not as a quality, but rather as an 'attribute,' a 'relation,' or a 'name' of God.²²

Although Lull's doctrine of the correlatives of action is adapted to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, it is clearly related to these Islamic speculations concerning the divine names and corroborates the many indications we have found in Lull's works relating his ideas to the Sufism of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Western Islam: *bonitas* rather than *misericordia* as the first of the *dignitates*, the doctrine of the 'attributes of the essence', the idea of the 'Divine Throne' as an intentional reality, the notion of 'straightforwardness' or *recta intentio*, the use of letters in describing the cosmos, and the reliance on al-Ghazālī's vision of God as productive in creation. Lull's definitions of the *dignitates* reflect his dynamic understanding of them—'Bonitas est ratio bono quod bonum agat bonum sive producat' (*Ars generalis ultima* VIII 1 1). The *dignitates* are principles—'beginnings'—of action, and they justify Lull's employment of Aristotle's model for an 'art' (as it was understood in Islam) as a method for successful productive action²³ rather than his Scholastic contemporaries' conception of theological knowledge as an abstract 'science'. For Thomas Aquinas God is pre-eminently a knower, a 'scientist'; Lull's God is rather a successful 'producer', the 'Creator.'

²² Chittick, *Metaphysics*, pp. 52, 60; D. Gimaret, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², IX, (1997) p. 551 f. s.v. 'Sifa'.

²³ See C.H. Lohr, "'Art' and Possibility: The Rule Concerning Possibility in the *Ars lulliana*", in T. Buchheim et al. (eds), *Potentialität und Possibilität: FS Klaus Jacobi*, (Stuttgart 2001) pp. 165–173.

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A SONG AND DANCE: TRANSCULTURAL PRACTICES OF DAILY LIFE IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

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In the eighth chapter of the *Shevet Yehudah*, an amiable polemic or dialogue is constructed in which ‘the great King don Alfonso of Spain’ articulates a series of questions or accusations against the Jews.¹ The conversation takes place in the presence of a public of courtiers. The king introduces a series of questions by saying: ‘you have sins of another kind and the populace rises against you because of its hatred and also because of your sins’. The Jews respond:

Let our king tell us what are the sins which conduce to the hatred against the Jews and we shall accept them as a faithful servant accepts his master or as a son accepts his father.

The king begins a series of accusations. The fifth of these is:

Why do you teach your children music?. You should always be in mourning. God in heavens manifested that you are bad and dispersed you among the nations something he did to no other nation. . . .

The Jews respond:

. . . about the music, no suffering soul will be able to resist being seduced by what it sees among its neighbours all the more so in the case of youths and lads whom no force is able to control and who lack the wisdom of avoiding the illicit. The king answers: ‘you have an argument’.

The paragraph has excited interest amongst historians of music for a number of reasons. Historians of medieval Spanish music such as Higinio Angles,² saw in it unquestionable first hand evidence for

¹ See *Shevet Yehudah*, (ed.) A. Schohat, (Jerusalem 1947) pp. 46 ff. On the attitudes expressed in this composition see for example E. Gutwirth, ‘The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Jewish Historiography’, in A. Rapoport-Albert and S.J. Zipperstein (eds), *Jewish History: Essays in honour of Chimen Abramsky*, (London 1988) pp. 141–161.

² H. Angles published his article on medieval Hispano-Jewish music several times.

Jewish musical practice in the fifteenth century, an age when such evidence was acknowledged to be very scanty. In our own day the fifteenth century is seen as a crucial period in the research on Hispano-Jewish music as it is the period of the musical traditions which the exiles would have carried into their new diaspora. Unlike Higinio Angles most historians of Sephardi music approach the medieval problem on the basis of the modern evidence. I.J. Katz has recently written about the musical heritage and affirmed “sabemos muy poco de la musica tradicional y las practicas musicales de los judios sefarditas durante sus muchos siglos de coexistencia con los cristianos y musulmanes de Espana antes de la expulsion de 1492.”³ The problem is by no means new. It was this perception that led Menendez Pidal to his formulations of 1922 about the music of the voices of the age of the Catholic Monarchs which he could hear in the 20th century in Tanger, Tetuan, Larache as if they were “old cities immersed as if by magical incantations in the bottom of the sea charmed by the fairies of tradition more than four centuries ago”. More recently, focusing on Judeo-Spanish music, Carmen Julia Gutierrez asserts: “Uns sind keine geschriebenen Dokumente jüdischer Musik im Spanischen Mittelalter überliefert”.⁴ Others have seen the *Shevet Yehudah* text we cited as prime evidence of a transition from an age in which Jewish music interacted closely with the music of their general [Muslim] environment to one where such interactions with the [Christian] environment were no longer to be found and where research no longer needed to take account of such a Christian Spanish environment. It was this *Shevet Yehudah* text that led to the widely available view that:

the endeavours of medieval Jewry to attach themselves to contemporary musical conceptions were buried under an avalanche of severe catastrophes that threatened the very existence of the Jews. These prompted the question whether the devotion to art and worldly goods was at all appropriate to a people in exile. Ibn Verga [late 15th cen-

One of these versions is ‘La musique juive dans l’Espagne medievale’, *Yiwal* I, (1968) pp. 48–64. On Higinio Angles see Eric Werner’s tribute: ‘In memoriam: Higinio Angles—scholar and friend’, *Orbis Musicae* I:I, (1971) pp. 3–10.

³ I.J. Katz ‘El legado musical de la diaspora Sefardi’, in A. Alcalá (ed.), *Judios, Sefarditas, conversos*, (Valladolid 1995) pp. 365–392.

⁴ C.J. Gutierrez ‘Judeo-Spanische Musik des Al-Andalus’, in L. Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (Kassel-Stuttgart 1998) vol. 8, p. 1632. For Pidal see my remarks in *Journal of Hispanic Research* 3, (1994–5) pp. 481 ff.

ture] expressed such opinions in a fictional discussion between King Alfonso VIII and three Jewish leaders . . . The Jewish respondents can proffer no real answer and demonstrate a disheartened retreat from their former aims and hopes. Pushed back by the turn taken by medieval civilization Jews had to abandon their tentative contacts with music and musical learning.⁵

It is doubtful whether the *Shevet Yehudah* may be used as historical evidence without a discussion as to its status as a source. The *Shevet Yehudah* is not cited before the 1550's. No earlier manuscripts seem to be known. All this concerns a work which was widely cited, translated, reedited, reprinted and copied by hand after the earlier editions. The custom of citing the *Shevet Yehudah* as if it were incontrovertible first hand evidence may be traced back to before the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, to at least the Christian Hebraists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who used it as a historical source for reconstructing medieval Hispano-Jewish history.⁶ It is this tradition, rather than contemporary research, which may explain the uncritical acceptance of the authority of the book. The paragraph undoubtedly reflects a certain 'mood', an approach to questions of cultural contacts between Jews and Christians in medieval Spain in general and questions of musical practice and education in particular. The problem is what is the textual/literary tradition in which it belongs. One step towards solving the problem is to pay attention to the series within which the critique of music appears. In this series it is linked to other, non-musical components such as money lending, fencing, sumptuous apparel.⁷ The common denominator is that

⁵ See sv 'Music', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

⁶ E. Gutwirth, 'Sephardi Aristocrats or Rococo Hebraists: On the Social History of Hispanic Jewry', in A. Doron (ed.), *The Heritage of the Jews of Spain*, (Tel Aviv 1994) pp. 103–122.

⁷ The *Shevet Yehuda's* assertions about Jewish musicians who were hired to teach in the houses of the Jews of Spain receive, possibly, a kind of support from an overlooked text, the *Zohar Ha-Raqqyah* by the Mallorcan born Simeon ben Zemah Duran [d. 1444]. He asserts about the houses of the wealthy: "I have seen the sinners . . . they drink wine from the fountains they sing foolishly to the sound of the *nevel* they fill their houses with silver . . .". The citation is from the Bible [Amos 6:5] where *nevel* is usually translated as harp or lyre of twelve or ten strings. But more relevant than its putative original sense are the Judeo-Spanish traditions. One of these is preserved in the Ferrara translation [1553]: 'Los ca[n]tantes por dicho de gayta, como Dauid pensaron a ellos ynstrumentos de cantico'. I suspect that the northern, celtic 'gayta' was a negative image which they might have thought apposite in translating the word for a musical instrument which is symbolic of the evil

'the Jews have learnt the bad habits from my people' [i.e. Spanish Christians]. The *Shevet Yehudah* may be seen as an ambiguous text in that it could be read as a Jewish attempt at mimesis of the 'Christian mind' or, conversely as admonitions which simply use the Christian interlocutor as a mouthpiece.⁸ It does however, raise important questions as to the tradition of admonitions or 'musar' on cultural contacts.

II

Profayt Duran's 'Eighth Way' comes in a section of pedagogic injunctions in the Introduction to the *Ma'seh Efod*.⁹ These are subsumed under the aim of helping to memorize what one has learnt. The eighth path is the longest of the paragraphs and is described as *meyuhad yoter el ha-migra* that is to say, more relevant to Bible study—ostensibly the major theme of the whole book.

ways of the wealthy. There can be little doubt that in this period for Christian readers King David was thought to have played the harp. An illumination in King Martin's Breviary [Ms. BNF. Paris, Roth 2529, fol. 25] depicts King David playing an instrument which is an unmistakable harp. The *Shevet Yehuda's* 'esgrima' ['fencing'] motif might also receive a kind of support from documents such as that of 1389, which refers to 'Bellshom Jueu Maestre de Sgrima lo qual es aqui en Mallorques' For Zemah Duran see E. Gutwirth 'Late Medieval Fortuna of Maimonidean Ideas on Wealth', in J. Pelaez (ed.), *Sobre la vida y obra de Maimonides*, (Cordoba 1991) pp. 295–304. Bellsom's document is cited by E. Lourie in her 'Cultic Dancing and Courtly Love: Jews and Popular Culture in Fourteenth Century Aragon and Valencia', in M. Goodich, S. Menache and S. Schein (eds), *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays presented to Aryeh Grabois on his sixty-fifth birthday*, (New York 1995) pp. 151–182.

⁸ For the ambiguities of the *Shevet Yehudah* see the article mentioned above [n. 1] and my 'Italy or Spain?: The Theme of Jewish Eloquence in the *Shevet Judah*', in M. Rozen (ed.), *Daniel Carpi Jubilee Volume*, (Tel Aviv 1996) pp. 35–67.

⁹ On Profayt Duran see for example E. Gutwirth, 'History and Apologetics in XVth c. Hispano-Jewish Thought', *Helmantica* 35, (1984) pp. 231–242. E. Gutwirth, 'Actitudes judias hacia el cristianismo: Ideario de los traductores hispano-judios del latin', in C. Carrete Parrondo (ed.), *Actas II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, (Toledo 1985) pp. 189–196; E. Gutwirth, 'Conversions to Christianity in Late Medieval Spain: An Alternative Explanation', in D. Carpi et al. (eds), *Shlomo Simonsohn jubilee volume: studies on the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance period*, (Tel Aviv 1993) pp. 97–122; E. Gutwirth, 'Religion and Social Criticism in Late Medieval Rousillon: An Aspect of Profayt Duran's Activities', *Michael* 12, (1991) pp. 135–156; E. Gutwirth, 'Profayt Duran on Ahitofel: The Practice of Jewish History in Late Medieval Spain', *Jewish History* 4:1, (1989) pp. 59–74; E. Gutwirth, 'The Stranger's Wisdom: Translation and Otherness in Fifteenth Century Iberia',

the learning and engagement with the biblical text should be by means of song and melodies for this is what adds desire and delight for the reader because of the pleasantness of the song and it awakens the passions/forces and strengthens them and it also improves the faculty of memory . . . [pp. 20/21]

After an analogy between the song of the Levites in the Temple in Jerusalem and that of the student of the Bible, which is also analogous to the Temple of the Lord, and a praise of music he asserts:

and if you listen to the music of the songs of the Gentiles it is the opposite of this for they lose the form of the text and they are almost incomprehensible except for the music because all they were interested in was the sensual pleasure to the ear by means of the changes in the relations between high and low voices and other similar matters. And behold in some liturgical poetry and metered compositions the Jews have adopted this habit. For they have mixed with the nations and have learnt from their actions. And they damage [or detract: *mafsidim*] the form of the text by the melodies and the music. But they also do well in that they awaken the desire to repent during the Days of Repentance and the [High] Holidays [pp. 20/21]

Profayt Duran is approached if at all, with a number of preconceptions about his polemical, 'isolationist' and 'decadent' character. Sometimes he is read with regard to the intermediary sources which he cites explicitly [Yehuda Ha-Levi's *Kuzari*] rather than the ultimate sources which he does not. The placement of Profayt in a Hispanic cultural context—that of philosophy, poetics and *artes punctuandi*—current in late medieval Christian Spain has been attempted elsewhere.¹⁰ Such methods may be conducive to further analysis of Duran's text, a text in which he seems to oppose Jewish sacred musical practice to the one which is the product of outside, Christian influence. Indeed is Duran's critique comprehensible only within the framework of a tradition of linguistic pride and isolationism? It may be suggested that there is evidence for reconstructing a contemporary, late medieval musical context for Duran's criticism—a criticism which depends on listening 'to the music of the songs of the Gentiles'.

Portuguese Studies 13, (1997) pp. 130–142. All references are to the Introduction to *Maaseh Efod*, (eds) J. Friedlander and J. Kohn, (Vienna 1865).

¹⁰ I deal with the context of Profayt Duran's musical passage in 'Orality and Textuality in Medieval Spain', Paper presented to the Gillman Colloquium, Tel Aviv November 1997 (forthcoming).

This context would be critiques of novel musical practices such as those of the motets and polyphonic forms of the *ars nova*. That there was an opposition to this highly succesful innovation may be seen from a number of sources. Pope Clement V, who settled in Avignon in 1309, condemned the severe disturbances by which many presume to sing the canonical hours either cursorily or syncopatedly even intermingling a great nuner of extraneous, meaningless, worldly and shameful texts. The curia of Avignon proclaimed in 1325 a decretal signed by Pope John XXII [1316–34]:

Some disciples of the new school seek to invent new notes preferring to devise ways of their own rather than to continue singing in the old manner. Thus the Divine Offices are now sung in semibreves and minims and peppered with small notes. Moreover they cut up the melodies with hockets, they lubricate them with discant. Sometimes they even cram in Tripla and Moteti in the vernacular and they show contempt for the antiphonal and the gradual, they ignore that over which they compose, they ignore tones which do not distinguish but confuse with the multitude of their notes . . . the distinction between the notes of the plainsong are obscured . . . we do not forbid . . . the employment . . . of some consonances . . . as long as they respect the melody . . . and are used simply over the ecclesiastic song and their integrity is left intact . . . if the consonances caress the ear, make a call to devotion and prevent the benumbing of the souls of those who sing the praises of the Lord . . .¹¹

The bishop of Valencia, Vidal de Blanes [1356–1369] promulgated an order which forbade the practice of the ‘cantus de organo vel contrapunt’. Leech-Wilkinson refers to a group of songs of the *Ars subtilior* in a fourteenth century manuscript at the Chateau de Chantilly, associated with Jean, Duc de Berry whose ‘complex rhythms, adventurous use of flats and exceptionally low voice ranges contribute to a style which has hardly lost its power to shock six centuries after its creation’.¹² Some of the composers of the Chantilly manuscript were employed during the 1370’s and 1380’s at the courts in Gerona, Castile and Navarre and in Barcelona in the 1390’s.

The obscuring of the plain text and inaudibility are common elements in the critiques we cite above. So is the structure: in the

¹¹ D. Leech Wilkinson, ‘Ars Antiqua—Ars Nova—Ars Subtilior’, in J. McKinnon (ed.), *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: from Ancient Greece to the 15th century*, (London 1990) pp. 218–240.

¹² Leech Wilkinson, ‘Ars Antiqua’, p. 238.

Christian texts, as in Profayt, criticism of music in liturgy comes first; praise of music in the liturgy comes later. This would imply that Profayt Duran is part of a cultural background which he shares with parties responsible for the sources mentioned above. This attempt to view Profayt Duran in context might be strengthened by remembering one basic fact that is usually unnoticed by readers of Duran's musical passage: that he bore the title *familiar* of King Joan I's court. This is of no little significance from the perspective of musical history. What did this title borne by Duran and his other Jewish contemporaries mean in terms of musical culture? As Walter Salmen observed, in Spain and Portugal from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries the courts were the center of musical life. As many foreign musicians were guests at these courts French influence was predominant. French and later Italian song completely dominated the art of the Spanish aristocracy. Gomez Muntane has found numerous documents about the international character of late medieval court performers of music in the Catalano-Aragonese area. It may suffice to recall that her recent study of the *Llibre vermell*—a main source for Catalan music history—opens up with the reminiscences of the famous French author Jean d'Arras, who probably had been to Montserrat, who had certainly been to the Aragonese Royal Court in August 1380 and who is described as "maestre en el art de trobar e de casa del duc de Bar". The French presence at these courts is amply documented by her.¹³

The particular density of the Jewish presence at court in Joan I and Profayt Duran's time has been recently pointed out as part of the background to his writings. Gomez Muntane has documented the presence of Jewish musicians in the royal household of the Catalano-Aragonese monarchs.¹⁴

¹³ Walter Salmen 'European Song 1300–1530', in A. Hughes and G. Abraham (eds), *Ars Nova and the Renaissance 1300–1500*, (London 1960) pp. 349–380, particularly p. 337. Ma. del Carmen Gomez Muntane, *El Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, (Barcelona 1990) pp. 13 ff.

¹⁴ Ma. del Carmen Gomez Muntane, *La musica en la casa real catalano-aragonesa durante los anos 1336–1437*, (Barcelona 1979).

III

Solomon Alami is another antecedent of the *Shevet Yehudah's* concern with sacred and profane music. Unlike the case of Profayt Duran very little is known about his biography.¹⁵ It has been argued that he is to be placed in Castile. He writes in response to the pogroms of 1391 and the discriminatory legislation of 1412. In 1415 he composed his *Epistle of Exhortation* [*Iggeret Ha-Musar*]¹⁶ as a treatise advocating piety and voicing internal criticism. Part of the *Epistle* is arranged according to the senses and devoted to warning against the sins committed by every sense/bodily organ in turn. Under the sense of hearing he articulates his critique of the contemporary practice in the field of synagogal music. In another paragraph he describes the situation following the calamities which befell his community. He is against those who 'eat happily their bread' . . . 'wear gentile clothing' or 'shave off their beards'. Part of this list of immoralities, which we could describe as evidence of transcultural practice in Spain c. 1415, is that 'they play musical instruments [*halilim*]'. In another passage he inveighs against the precentors in the synagogue. They are not chosen for their religious qualities but only for the 'pleasantness of their voice'. He seems to echo Duran when writing: 'They hear the music [lit. 'voice'] of the words but see no image apart from the sound of the syllables' [p. 30]. Elsewhere he writes about prayer, emphasizing the importance of inner intentions and understanding every word of the prayer. He exhorts his readers: 'be not as the whistling bird when you wish to have your cry heard on high, for the service of prayer consists in the intentions of the heart' [p. 18] And yet, when discussing the duties and sins concerning the mouth he writes: 'If the Lord has granted you a pleasant voice, make it heard in His praise' [p. 10]. It is in the section on the ear that he warns: 'beware of listening to the songs of lust and the melodies of animal concupiscence which awaken and bring to fornication' implying the currency of love songs in the Castilian Jewish communities of 1415.

¹⁵ On Shelomo Alami's *Iggeret Ha-Musar* and its context, see E. Gutwirth 'Social Criticism in Alami's *Iggeret*', in 'Social Tensions in Fifteenth Century Hispano-Jewish Communities', Ph.D. thesis, (University of London 1978) Chapter I.

¹⁶ All references are to the edition by A.M. Haberman (Tel Aviv 1947).

The most sustained development of a musical motif in this highly paratactic text is in the section on the mouth, where the reference occurs between the exhortation against laughter and that against the conversation of women:

Beware of the melodies of those who drink and the songs of fools. They are the stupid cantors who interrupt the blessings introducing amorous songs mixed with the darkness of desire. These are composed in the ridiculous meters of the Christians and Muslims which are designed to please the fools and the sick men who are comparable to women as well as the young and the rascals and they are like idolatry . . .

The basic attitudes are within a long tradition of criticism of the cantors and of music to be found in Jewish texts at least as early as the early medieval Gaonic texts. But the identification of this tradition of tensions between musicians and moralists/jurists/leaders is only a preliminary step in understanding the importance of these texts. For in a century characterized by so little information about musical practice in the usual surveys, they may serve to reconstruct a lost musical history.

Music in Alami's text has a distinguishing ethnic character: he writes about the music of Edom [i.e. Christianity] or that of Ishmael [i.e. Arabic music]. But Jewish musical practice in the communities repeatedly described by Alami—perhaps mainly those of Castile—includes and assimilates these traditions.¹⁷

Centuries after the turning points of the Reconquista, Castilian Jews still cherish the Arabic songs but the text of Alami offers further information about their acquaintance with and assimilation of Christian music. In the context of the extreme paucity of fifteenth century evidence usually advanced for the Sephardi musical tradition, such texts are extremely valuable. The selection, in the text, of the theme of women and young men as especially attracted to this

¹⁷ The fourteenth century *Libro de buen amor* distinguishes between the music and instruments appropriate to the Arabs and those of the Christians. At the same time the author presents himself as someone who composes songs and dances for the Jews. In the following century, Palencia specifies that Diego Arias' songs were Moorish. The poem by Pero Ferruz in the *Cancionero de Baena* opposes Jewish music to the expectations of the Christian listener. Ibn Danan [*Pereq be-Herez*] believed that since the ancient Arabs by nature measured their language, its very nature accorded with tonal proportions and musical composition. Zacut includes the invention of music in his history. See E. Gutwirth, 'Inquisition, Music and Identity in Fifteenth Century Spain', *Early Music History* 17, (1998) pp. 161–181.

kind of music shows, once again, the link between Alami and the *Shevet Yehudah*; between the tradition of internal criticism of fifteenth century Castile and the apparent mimesis of courtly dialogue—so rich in ambiguities—in the work published in the mid sixteenth century. These are communities in which the common occurrence of performances of secular love songs leads to the individual preacher's rebuke. What is quite clear is that the Synagogal music of the cantors and the tastes of the congregation at large in Castile c. 1415, included the appreciation, appropriation and performance of Christian secular music [evidently with Romance lyrics] in a sacred setting. Alami is an individual critic of this practice which he documents for us. But the implications are that the majority of the communities followed the practice mentioned above, a practice which they had absorbed together with the 'melodies and songs of Edom' as they had long ago absorbed those 'of Ishmael'. Moreover we may identify this practice of the early fifteenth century [and not the mid sixteenth] as that of *a lo divino* 'kontrafaktor' or *contrafacta*.

To some extent one may reconstruct part of the background for this musical practice by appealing to an internal Jewish tradition represented in a cognate area, that of Hebrew literature. It may be noted, first of all, that Hebrew poetry had used the *contrafacta* mode from a very early date. In Spain the use of forms, themes or meters taken from Hebrew secular love poetry in the composition of religious, liturgical poetry in Hebrew is particularly well known and documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Hebrew liturgical or religious strophic poems, the *muwashahat* or *paramuwashahat* are a classic example. But even in the fifteenth century despite historical changes, a poem could still be written in a conscious attempt to create a variation of an earlier poem. A random example could be the case of Bonafed's 'dream poem' where he consciously and explicitly models himself on ibn Gavirol's poetic diatribe against the Saragossans. There is a further step in his 'muwashah in the form of a mustagib' where the frontiers between the sacred and the profane are conceptually crossed by using a poetic form associated with penitential liturgical poetry and turning it into a form associated with love poetry of a rather explicit tone.¹⁸

¹⁸ See E. Gutwirth, 'A muwashshah by Solomon Bonafed' in F. Corriente and A. Saenz Badillos (eds), *Poesia Estrofica*, (Madrid 1991) pp. 137–144.

The most relevant example, however is his *Reshut le-Shabbat Hazon* beginning “shaare Sion ha-la’ad /yhyu muke sheyyah”.¹⁹ The *reshut* is a poetic introduction to a precisely defined sung or recited liturgical poem. What is of interest in Bonafed’s *reshut* is not only the continuity in the ‘crossing’ from the sacred to the profane or viceversa. Rather the important element is located in the rubric. The latter informs us explicitly that he modelled it on a song in the *romance* [*le-timrur qinah shel la’az*]. That is to say that he was turning a romance song into a Hebrew liturgical one. While a *lo divino* poetry from Hebrew into Hebrew is attested textually in such poems as those of da Piera, Bonafed’s contemporary, in Bonafed’s poetry we have evidence of an *a lo divino* contrafactum [undoubtedly musical] from romance into Hebrew.

What is of interest in the historical practice described by Alami is that the music of love songs current in Christian Spain, love songs which, according to him, ‘arouse concupiscence’ and, therefore must be assumed to be in the vernacular, are used in the [Hebrew] liturgy. This is not contrafacta of Hebrew or Arabic into Hebrew but a turning *a lo divino*—into Hebrew—of current vernacular songs. This practice is being decried by Alami in 1415 more clearly than had been done by Profayt Duran in 1403. The significance of these references depends on realizing the cultural context in which they were written. Profayt Duran writes around 1403 in the Crown of Aragon. Alami writes in 1415 probably in the area of the Crown of Castile-Leon. What is the practice of contrafacta *a lo divino* which they describe for us and decry in these cultural areas and period?

A first impression would be that in Christian Spain, the literary textual parody of the canonic hours in the *Libro de buen amor* or the *vuelta a lo divino* of popular songs, especially the *villancicos* represent what may be termed in a general manner a constant movement between the sacred and the profane written texts. Indeed Romeu has discussed extensively the transposition of secular and religious themes and melodies in the songs of the *Cancionero de Palacio*. For him the songs of the *Cancionero de Palacio* are like Provencal, troubadour and goliardic poetry in their hyperbolic use of divine metaphors

¹⁹ Y. Schirman, *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence* (Hebrew), IV, (Tel Aviv 1960) pp. 642 ff., No. 458: ‘Reshut le-Shabbat Hazon’. Incipit: ‘Shaare Sion ha-la’ad /yhyu muke sheyyah’; rubric: ‘le-timrur qin’ah shel la’az’.

and the employment of the language of devotion in speaking of profane love. Thus we find 'love masses' or a Bachic song which is a parody of a Marian hymn. The agony of love is depicted in terms taken from the liturgical offices of Easter and the dead. The Gospels are quoted in profane love songs.²⁰

But the main problem is the late date of the evidence—the reign of the Catholic Monarchs—for turning music *a lo divino* in Christian Spain. The practice which would become so richly evident in the sixteenth century and onwards that it would be considered by some as a [perhaps the] Spanish characteristic was, in fact, documented only late in the fifteenth century. In his widely read book on the history of lyric poetry *a lo divino* Wardropper wrote of the 'Spanish anomaly', that is, that, unlike England, France and Italy, medieval Spain seems to lack a tradition of early *a lo divino* lyric poetry: "a pesar de haberse investigado estos [casos] tan abundantes de coplas tradicionales . . . en lo que va del siglo, no se ha encontrado ni un ejemplo de lirica religiosa de probable origen medieval."²¹ Marquez Villanueva noted the judeoconverso Alvarez Gato's [1440/50–1510] poetic textual turning *a lo divino*. He saw him as the turning point from a tradition which had previously been poor in this practice, as proved by the lack of evidence, to a tradition which would end up by being characterized by the phenomenon.²² Rodriguez Puertolas emphasized the contrafacta element in the poetry of Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, a grandson of a Rabbi from Burgos.²³ Crosbie contested this periodization by pointing to a neglected source for *a lo divino* songs in a Catalan manuscript of the late fourteenth century. This was the Montserrat *Llibre vermell*. While this evidence cannot be compared to the enormously rich corpus of the sixteenth century and onwards, it serves to qualify Wardropper's assertions.²⁴ For us this

²⁰ M. Frenk, 'Los romances-villancico', in J.M. Lopez de Abiada and A. Lopez Bernasocchi (eds), *De los romances-villancico a la poesia de Claudio Rodriguez*. 22 *Ensayos sobre las literaturas española e hispano-americana en homenaje a Gustav Siebenmann*, (Madrid 1984) pp. 141–153. J. Romeu Figueras (intro.), *La musica en la corte de los Reyes Catolicos siglos XV XVI* iv–i of *Cancionero de Palacio*, (Barcelona 1965) cap. V.

²¹ B. Wardropper, *Historia de la poesia lirica a lo divino*, (Madrid 1958).

²² Fco. Marquez Villanueva, *Investigaciones sobre Juan Alvarez Gato*, (Madrid 1960).

²³ J. Rodriguez Puertolas, *Fray Inigo de Mendoza*, (Madrid 1968).

²⁴ J. Crosbie, 'Medieval Contrafacta: A Spanish Anomaly Reconsidered', *Modern Language Review* 78:1–2, (1983) pp. 61–67. For other, earlier cases see A. Rossell, 'Intertextualidad e intermelodicidad en la lirica medieval', in B. Bagola (ed.), *La lin-*

may serve to reconstruct further the context of Profayt Duran's remarks on the changes in Hebrew liturgical music following Jewish assimilation of Christian musical practice. The crossing of boundaries between sacred and profane, vernacular and learned languages was a cultural practice which was taking place in Profayt Duran's Crown of Aragon as shown by the vocal music of the late fourteenth century codex from the Monastery of Montserrat discussed by Crosbie. The context of the practices described by Alami, would be that which is decades earlier than the rich *a lo divino* repertoires of conversos such as Gato or Inigo de Mendoza, descendant of the Rabbi of Burgos. What is of importance is that both the general [that is Christian] context, as well as the Jewish practice of turning music *a lo divino* is now supported by dated evidence from late medieval Spain.

IV

There is an additional type of evidence which may also be relevant for our question on the relations between sacred and profane Jewish music in late medieval Spain. The genre of Responsa was, by the fourteenth century, a long established traditional institution of correspondence on legal and juridical questions affecting Jewish religion. Within this context it may be useful to examine one particular, well defined corpus of letters, that of the responsa of Isaac bar Sheshet.²⁵ Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet is believed to have been born in Barcelona in 1326. His rabbinical positions up to the pogroms of 1391 were held within the borders of the Crown of Aragon and in its most important urban centers—Saragossa from 1372–3; Valencia from the later months of 1385. When he left Spain he was in his mid-sixties. By education and environment Rabbi Isaac belongs, then, to a particular cultural milieu: that of the Jewish communities

guística española en la época de los descubrimientos, (Hamburg 2000) pp. 149–156; A. Rossell, 'So D'Alba', in *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer*, IV, (Barcelona 1991) pp. 705–721.

²⁵ E. Gutwirth, 'Hebrew Letters—Hispanic Mails; Jewish Communications in Fourteenth Century Aragon', in S. Menache (ed.), *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora in the Pre-Modern Period*, (Leiden 1996) pp. 257–282.

of the Crown of Aragon. Rabbi Isaac's c. 518 letters cover a period of approximately forty years between 1368 and 1407.

Their particular value for us is not in the juridical disquisition which constitutes the Rabbi's reply, but in the description of an actual event which is located in the question. A series of questions were sent from Játiva by Pinhas bar Salmia Lunel to Isaac bar Sheshet. They contain one of relevance methodologically and also as data on the question of sacred and profane music.

Responsa #260

You have asked:

Reuven came from his locality to engage himself to a woman of our place during the middle of the [religious] holiday. He came with a group of friends who arranged a dance and music in his honour and in honour of the [religious] festival in the neighbourhood a day before the date of the engagement. The next day the *muqademim* [communal leaders] ordered that no engagement should take place because one celebration had already taken place and there is a prohibition against mixing two celebrations that is to say [the celebrations of the engagement with the celebrations of] the religious festival. And you said that the celebration refers to the banquet and the music and the dancing in honour of the festival and not in honour of the engagement. . . .

At the root of the juridical problem is the decision as to whether the music and the dancing were in honour of the religious celebration or in honour of the 'secular' wedding. The celebrations being a form of publication or banns of the engagement, they had legal implications as to whether the engagement had taken place publicly or not. It seems quite clear from the question, that if the music and dancing for religious occasions was of a different kind from that which characterized secular occasions, such as the music and dancing for engagements, the question would not have arisen. We may conclude then that in the kingdom of Valencia, in the last decades of the fourteenth century sacred and profane musical and dance practices of the Jews were indistinguishable.

V

So far the Hebrew texts have shown a wide variety of attitudes and practices in the realm of music and dance in late medieval Spain. They concern the contacts, appropriations and relations between sacred

and profane music and between Christian, Muslim and Jewish musical practices. They do not confirm suppositions about the distancing from music of the Jews in an age of adversity nor those about the isolationism of a society in decline after the pogroms of 1391.

Does the archival evidence strengthen the case made on the basis of the Hebrew texts? One type of such evidence could be furnished by the testimonies brought before the tribunal of the Inquisition of Sigüenza in the years 1492–1505. The area covered is that of the present provinces of Guadalajara, Soria, Segovia, Cuenca and Saragossa. Most of the cases relevant to the problem are testimonies brought in the year 1504.²⁶ The question would be whether these records show that Jews had abandoned their contacts with music and with the musical practice of their neighbours retreating into isolationism.

The records show [89] that Catalina, wife of Garcia Perez, vecina de Atienza had been to Jewish weddings and had danced in them according to a testimony of c. 1504. [No. 90] In 1504 Catalina wife of Juan de Currucacho vecino de Atienza confessed that she had danced at Jewish weddings. [91] In 1504 Catalina de Guadalajara confessed that she had danced at Jewish weddings. [95] In the same year, Francisca, ‘ama de dona Madalena’ confessed that when she was a child she had danced at Jewish weddings. [104] On 7/4/1492 Guiomar ‘mujer de Garcia de Huerta vecino de Atienza’ confessed that she had gone to the weddings of two Jewesses, where she sang and she had danced at one of them. [114] Juana, ‘mujer de Francisco criado del bachiller de Atienza’ [Diego Sanchez] confessed in 1504, that she had danced at Jewish weddings. [146] Pedro Soto, vecino de Atienza, also danced at Jewish weddings. [147] Pedro de Tarancuena also danced at a Jewish wedding. [166] Anton ‘criado de Bartolome Herrero vecino de Berlanga’ was present at Jewish weddings and danced in them. [192] Francisca, wife of Pedro Serrano, vecino de Berlanga, danced at their weddings. [204] Leonor de Hedo, vecina de Berlanga, went to the weddings of two Jews and danced at them. [213] Juana la Guardiana, wife of Miguel de Varcones

²⁶ All references in square brackets are to the number of the testimony in the edition of the Inquisition papers by C. Carrete Parrondo in *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae VII El Tribunal de la Inquisición de Sigüenza 1492–1505*, (Salamanca 1997).

vecino de Berlanga, danced at Jewish weddings. [220] Juana, wife of Pedro Panero, vecina de Berlanga had danced at Jewish weddings. [231] Maria Lopes, wife of Pero Garcia, butcher, vecina de Berlanga had sung and had danced at Jewish weddings. [239] Maria, wife of Juancho el herrero, vecina de Berlanga had participated in Jewish weddings and danced at them. [240] Maria, wife of Martin de Atienca, vecina de Berlanga, had danced at Jewish weddings. [243] Maria, wife of Juan de Molina, vecina de Berlanga, went to Jewish weddings and danced at them. [245] Maria, daughter of Mari Lopes, vecina de Berlanga, went to weddings of Jews and Moors and danced at them.

The conclusions are that these (circa) 18 cases of Christians who dance and sing at Jewish weddings represent a richer and stronger corpus of evidence for interaction than that ever produced to buttress views of Jewish Gentile interaction in the field of music and dance practice in a putative Golden Age from the tenth century and onwards. Most of them are women, some assert they were children at the time. The cases where the professional affiliation is explicitly mentioned make it clear that they are artisans or servants: an *ama*, a 'criado', a butcher, an 'herrero'. They come mostly from relatively small villages such as Atienza and Berlanga.

VI

The records at the archives of the Saragossan Audiencia Territorial and the Seminario Conciliar include Inquisition files which contain testimonies on judaizing practices of judeoconvertos of the territory of the Crown of Aragon.²⁷ They are mainly concerned with the second half of the fifteenth century. Although apparently concerned particularly with conversos they also show what Jewish practices were at the period. Very frequently they give information on the wedding customs of individual Jewish families who are known from other documents.

²⁷ E. Marin Padilla, 'Relacion judeoconversa durante la segunda mitad del siglo v en Aragon matrimonios', *Sefarad* 42:2, (1982) pp. 243–298 and E. Marin Padilla, 'Relacion judeoconversa: Nacimientos, hadas, circuncisiones', *Sefarad* 41:2, (1981) pp. 273–300.

The testimonies before the Inquisition are particularly valuable. One example of such records concern a wedding circa 1467 between Angelina de Santangel, from the village of Ainsa and the merchant Domingo. The removal of the bride to the place of the wedding was a ritual analogous to a procession. A testimony about a conversa's travel recalls how when she arrived at a stop, the little village of Naval in 1467 'three Jewesses holding a little Jew in their hands came out singing and accompanied the bride and her company to the Inn of Naval, which is called Ramon's Inn'. And, once arrived, the Jewesses threw the little Jew onto the lap of the bride saying: "within a year may it be the Creator's will that you have another in the same place" Other testimonies speak of a great deal of people that had come out to watch and of the 'revuelta', 'commotion' caused in the village by the event. In the wedding of the Jew Habraham Manuel c. 1480 there were dances at which conversas such as Clara Mateo of Saragossa were present.

Music was a sign of the public nature of the wedding. The Inquisition records have preserved the names of musicians from the second half of the fifteenth century such as Francisco, who played at Moorish and Jewish weddings, though the witnesses main memories are of his consumption of the refreshments at the wedding of Huda Carfati's daughter. Juan de Zaragoza c. 1474 had played the flute in the village of Pina at a Jewish wedding; Tribulet was remembered as a *tamborino* at the wedding of the son of the Jewish *peligero*, Cedossillo.

The wedding of the daughter of Clara Mateo was attended by 'sonadores judios'. At the wedding of maestre Vidal Chinillo, son of Noah Chinillo, in Saragossa, c. 1477, the dance went on till after the meal. The daughter of Jaime de Montesa danced at that wedding. The Saragossan shoemaker maestre Juan Simon played music at the wedding of maestre Vidal Chinillo. Juan de Zaragoza, a conversa, played music frequently at the weddings of the Jews of Saragossa where he would also eat and drink. Around 1474 Juan de Zaragoza went to the village of Pina to play the music at a wedding which took place on a Good Friday. He played the flute.

In 1471 he played at a Jewish wedding. The 'tamborino', Tribulet used to play with other musicians who testified about him to the Inquisition. Juan de Zaragoza admits that he used to play the music at Jewish and Moorish weddings. Juan de Zaragoza and Tribulet played at the wedding of the Jew Trigo.

In Calatayud Christians used to go to watch the celebrations of the Jewish weddings where they danced. Acach Frances remembers in 1488 that at the wedding of Mosse Alazan, Jew of Calatayud, many *confesas* danced. At the wedding of the Jewess Vida and Salamon Quatorze, c. 1468, the conversa Maria took part in the dancing. Salamon Avayut, tailor, c. 1489 and Juan de Esperandeo tailor of Calatayud remembered having danced at Calatayud weddings. Israel Caruz had been present at the wedding of Juce Cahadias in Calatayud in 1464 and he remembered the dancing. Amongst the participants in the dance was the converso taylor Pedro Cit de Calatayud. Francisco or Fernando de Tarazona tamborino played in Arandiga at the wedding of Juce el Herrero and at the wedding of the daughters of Huda Carfati.

According to the file of Jaime Montesa c. 1471, on a Good Friday he married off a granddaughter named Constanza, daughter of Juan de Montesa to Bernardo Ribas merchant of Saragossa. After the ceremony he told the guests to dance and take delight in the occasion. The servant danced with the Jew Moshico Avayut son of maestre Salamon Avayut. The bride danced with the groom. Jeuda Avayut took a turn with the bride. Alfonso Marixa was making music vocally. Jaime Montesa in order to make the occasion more joyful made music by clapping and they danced a turn [*baylaron una vuelta*] in a circle.

Weddings were not the only events where such solidly and amply documented transcultural practice occurred. In 1462, the Jew Fichel arranged for Christian musicians to play for a Torah which was being newly brought into the Synagogue. The tambourine Tribulet and Juan de Prados also played music at that event. Similarly there are other [i.e. 'non-wedding'] dances. At the *fadas* when the new born wore white clean clothes many maidens and other women would come to play and dance during the seven nights. Around 1476 the vigil of the son of the daughter of Deu Gatenyo of Lerida was attended by the conversa Aldonza Garreta wife of Juan Garret who remembered how they ate and played the tambourine [or drums].²⁸ The Inquisition file of Maria Alvarez vecina de Herrera, includes a testimony given on 8/5/1500. According to it Alfonso de Cabeza

²⁸ E. Marin Padilla 'Relacion judeoconversa durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV en Aragon: enfermedades y muertes', *Sefarad* 43, (1983) pp. 251-343.

sworn witness said that before the imprisonment of Ynes daughter of Juan Estevan he had observed that during 12 or 15 days many conversos of Herrera were dressed as on a festival and they came in and out of the house of Juan Estevan and there they played pandres. On 22 /8/1500 Garcia Cabecas in prison said that before the quaresma of this year he saw how Beatris Ramires wife of Juan Estevan danced in front of the daughter of Juan Estevan when they said things about going to the promised land.²⁹

Dance in these societies seems to have had the function of signalling the divide between the everyday and the special occasion. The conditions of the ground, again, were similar for Jews and Christians and conducive to concentration on the movements of the upper torso rather than the detailed leg movements of more modern dance. The instruments again seem to have been determined by economics and availability. The [mostly Aragonese] evidence refers to palms, voices, flutes, tambourines, panderos. They remind us of the Aragonese visual representations in Hebrew manuscripts of the fourteenth century after the attacks of the 1320's in Navarre and the pogroms during the Black Death in Catalonia. Jewish taste for music and playing musical instruments in this period seems to be attested in illuminations of these Hebrew manuscripts. BL Add 14761 [fol. 61 recto] from the Crown of Aragon depicts what Metzger terms 'a small popular orchestra' in Spain c. 1350–60 and 'players of wind, percussion and string instruments; a tambourine player who simultaneously plays a flute; a rebeck player; a piper and a timpanist.' A detail in the same MS [fol. 28 verso] represents an instrument 'apparently related to the drum or psaltery'. The so called Haggadah of Sarajevo, an illuminated Hebrew manuscript from the mid fourteenth century Crown of Aragon depicts [at folio 28 recto] Jewish young women dancing holding hands while a man holds a small drum or tambourine.³⁰

The intense dance culture, the culture of the body in motion, eases comprehension of the phenomenon of Jewish pageantry. Two

²⁹ F. Baer, *Die juden im christlichen Spanien*, vol. 2, (Berlin 1936) p. 530 no. 423

³⁰ Th. and M. Metzger *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, (New York 1982) p. 217, fig. and pp. 155, and 322, p. 155. The variety of opinions on these questions of Metzger's identifications of instruments and provenance may be related to the problems with heraldry and archival documentation in the area of research on such medieval illuminations. Our point here is unrelated to these questions.

examples stand out. The one is that of the Jewish participation in royal funerary rites studied by Lourie.³¹ The other is the entrance in 1481, of the Catholic Monarchs, as joint rulers of united Spain into the city of Saragossa. This was understandably treated as a symbolic event. Ritual pageantry marked and publicized the occasion. The Jews of Saragossa devised a symbolic act to signify their participation but also their views of themselves in the polity. It was the presentation to the monarchs of a gift which consisted of twelve calves and twelve sheep. Twelve Jews carried singular silverware.³² What is of interest for us in both cases is the use of 'props'. The choreography or devising of the pageantry by the Jews integrated objects/animals [coffins, silverware, calves] into the movement. We do not know the names of the individuals or groups who devised these events but they create a Jewish pageantry which is understood by the Christian neighbours. The case of the number symbolism which is at the root of the Jewish Saragossan pageantry of 1481 is an example where the props appeal to shared beliefs in the Biblical story. Equally integrated into the movement and dance are the props used in another type of ceremonial dancing.

This, it could be argued is related to ancient ceremonies of welcome and departure. The communities' tradition of ceremonial events in these cases have left their traces in an 'adjacent' field, that of poetry. One example of their currency is the *jarcha* and *muwashshah* in honour of the entrance of R. Yosef Ha-Nassi Ferruziel Cidiello courtier/physician of Alfonso VI: 'Des cand meu Cidiello venid/tan bona l-bisara/como rayo de sol exid/en Wad al-hayara'. Both welcomes and departures continued to be mainstays of the social poetry in Hebrew. Variations on them [e.g. *ke-mitlonen al ha-predah*] are richly represented in the Hebrew poetry of the second half of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth. The poetry is only one aspect of the communal organization attendant on entrances and departures from the city in particular and travel in general. They are part of a complex organization for coping with travel of various types; one which includes the institution of the *espital* as well

³¹ E. Lourie 'Jewish Participation in Royal Funerary Rites: An Early Use of the *Representatio* in Aragon', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), pp. 192–194.

³² See E. Gutwirth, 'The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain', pp. 141–161.

as the letters of 'presentation' or 'introduction' produced by communal chancelleries for members who were traveling outside the city.³³

In 1432 the envoys of the Castilian Jewish communities under royal jurisdiction in the kingdom of Castile approved internal legislation (*taqqanot*) on women's apparel in their Fifth Gate or Chapter. They described the women's apparel and their jewells of rich materials; jewells of gold and silver and *aljofar*. They legislate against clothing of gold, azeituni, gauze, silk, camel hair, gold buckles. The women are exempt of such sumptuary laws in certain cases: 'en tienpo de alegrías o recibimiento de señor o senora': except in the feasts/celebrations or the reception of the entrance of a Lord or a Lady. The legislators seem to be well aware of the various items of clothing of the women, from the materials down to the jewels and buckles. They also know full well that there are regional variations and therefore leave the further legislation to local communities. Similarly, they seem to understand the role of such apparel in the economy of pageantry for entrances into the city, hence the exemptions.³⁴ These 'alegrías' and 'recibimientos' seem to involve the 'cantigas de dança' and 'troteras para judías' mentioned by the *Libro de buen amor* [line 1513]. Thus we know about the events surrounding the coming from Castile to Saragossa of Ferdinand of Antequera c. 1412. These events included Jewish participation in the festivities of the coronation of the King. The Jews dressed like Christians danced girded with silver ribbons. Their jugglers/minstrels went before them. They continued in this manner all the days of the celebration. They would come through the streets doing their 'alegrías' until they reached the King's palace. It is possible that the Jewish juglares themselves were responsible for the choreography. It is a choreography which seems to have fully integrated the props which impress themselves on the memory of the chronicler: 'cintas de plata'.³⁵

³³ E. Gutwirth, 'Viajes y viajeros hispanojudios en la baja edad media' in *Caminaria Hispanica*, (Palencia 1998) pp. 293–308.

³⁴ E. Gutwirth, 'Trends towards Centralization in XVth c. Castilian Jewish Communities' (Hebrew), *Teudah* 4, (1986) pp. 231–246.

³⁵ E. Gutwirth, 'The Jews in 15th century Castilian Chronicles', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84:4, (1984) pp. 379–396.

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THE MYTHS OF TROY AND HERCULES AS REFLECTED IN THE WRITINGS OF SOME JEWISH EXILES FROM SPAIN

Ram Ben Shalom

There was no discernible Jewish interest in classical mythology during much of the Middle Ages. In contrast to the relative openness characteristic of Jewish society in the early centuries of the Christian era, Jewish thought in the Middle Ages was dominated by a Talmudic sensibility that categorically disqualified the study of mythology. Nevertheless, there were various unorganized and dispersed traces of mythology that found expression within the Spanish Jewish world, both orally and in writing. Greek and Roman mythology was accorded a meaningful place for the first time in the work of both Abraham Zacut and Isaac Abravanel. These two scholars adopted the euhemeristic view then dominant in Spanish historiography, which led them, and eventually Jewish thought in general, to assimilate rejected pagan myth into the matrix of normative cultural values. Zacut and Abravanel applied mythology in various ways in constructing a Jewish-Spanish identity and engaging in a learned dialogue with Iberian culture.

The explanation for this “eruption” of mythology in the Jewish historical consciousness is to be found in the important place assigned to classical mythology in Medieval Christian culture, and particularly in the universalist historiography that integrated the ancient mythical history of Greece and Rome with biblical narrative. Zacut’s and Abravanel’s intellectual curiosity into the history of the world also brought them to the study of mythology. They belonged to an ongoing phenomenon, dating back to the twelfth century, of Jewish scholars in Spain who actively studied secular history. In other words, Jewish interest in mythology was principally an expression of a wider cultural curiosity that did not specifically accord mythology a special role. But mythical-historical knowledge helped the Jews respond to the developing Judeo-Christian dialogue in such areas as biblical interpretation, religious polemic, and an emerging Jewish-Spanish identity.¹

¹ See R. Ben Shalom, “Myth and Classical Mythology in the Historical Consciousness of Medieval Spanish Jewry” (Hebrew), *Ẓion* 66, (2002) pp. 451–480.

This phenomenon also had roots in the Renaissance, which reached Spain at the end of the fourteenth century. Isaac Abravanel and Abraham Zacut were an integral part of the Renaissance-intellectual atmosphere that existed at the end of the fifteenth century in the Iberian peninsula, mainly among the aristocracy (caballeros), and particularly among members of the Mendoza family and its circle.² Both befriended leading, prominent people in the upper reaches of the Spanish and Portuguese cultural elite. In Castile, Zacut befriended Gonzalo de Vivero, the Bishop of Salamanca, and was active in astronomy in the latter's court. After 1480 he served Don Juan de Zúñiga, head of the Alcántara order. Following the expulsion from Spain (1492), Zacut worked in Portugal as astrologer to King João II and King Manuel.³ As for Abravanel, while still in Portugal he became associated with leading local Renaissance figures, and at the beginning of his stay in Castile he associated himself with Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza and managed the cardinal's tax leasing business in a number of districts. In 1490, Abravanel was appointed "contador mayor" by Íñigo López de Mendoza, the (second) Duke of the Infantado. Cardinal Mendoza was the first who, together with his nephew Íñigo López de Mendoza, introduced to Spain the architectural style of the Italian Renaissance. He also translated from Latin into Castilian the works of Virgil and Ovid.⁴

In this article I wish to examine the place and function filled by two central myths in the historical consciousness of Zacut and Abravanel: the Homeric account of the Trojan war and the myth

² See H. Nadler, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550*, (New Jersey 1979) pp. 7–16, 77; A. Gómez Moreno, *España y la Italia de los humanistas, Primeros ecos*, (Madrid 1994).

³ See F. Cantera Burgos, *El Judío Salamantino Abraham Zacut—Notas para la historia de la Astronomía en la España Medieval*, (Madrid 1931) pp. 20–26; F. Cantera Burgos, *Abraham Zacut—Siglo XV*, (Madrid 1935); A.A. Neuman, "Abraham Zacut, Historiographer", in *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventy Fifth Birthday*, English section, (Jerusalem 1965) II, pp. 597–629.

⁴ See B. Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel—Statesman & Philosopher*, (Philadelphia 1972) pp. 14, 51–52; E. Lawee, "On the Threshold of the Renaissance: New Methods and Sensibilities in the Biblical Commentaries of Isaac Abarbanel", *Viator* 26, (1995) pp. 283–319; E. Lawee, *Isaac Abarbanel's Stance Toward Tradition. Defense, Dissent, and Dialogue*, (Albany, N.Y. 2001) pp. 9–25; E. Gutwirth, "Don Ishaq Abravanel and Vernacular Humanism in Fifteenth Century Iberia", *Bibliothèque d'Humanism et Renaissance* 60, (1998) pp. 641–671, esp. 646–647; E. Gutwirth, "Consolatio: Don Ishaq Abravanel and the Classical Tradition", *Medievalia et Humanistica New Series* 27, (2000) pp. 79–98; Nadler, *The Mendoza*, pp. 1, 115, 119–121.

of Hercules. The connections between Zacut and Abravanel and Renaissance circles in the Iberian Peninsula can indeed provide a preliminary explanation of the cultural background for the absorption of these two myths in their writings. The figure of Hercules, for example, was celebrated in 1415 in Enrique de Villena's book *Los Doze Trabajos de Hercules*, first published in Burgos in 1483 and again in 1499, and was very popular in Spain. De Villena himself was seen as a cultural model in the Castilian circles with whom Abravanel was associated.⁵ Also, the conquest of Troy and the Homeric myth were among the central topics with which Spanish humanism dealt in the fifteenth century,⁶ and it should be noted that the translator of the *Iliad* into Castilian was the Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, who employed Abravanel in tax concessions.

The reader of "The Sixth Chapter" in Abraham Zacut's *The Book of Genealogy* (*Sefer Yuchasin*)⁷ learns a not-insignificant lesson in Greco-Roman mythology. The stories are told briefly and are at times inaccurate, but in light of the dearth of reference to mythology in Hebraic writings from the Middle Ages, it makes a very significant contribution to the exposure of Jews to historic-mythic knowledge. One of the myths recounted in *Sefer Yuchasin* in slightly greater detail than the others is the story of the Greek war against Troy. The account describes the causes of the outbreak of the war (the trial of Paris), and the heroes' names are mentioned: Priam; Aeneas; Hector; Astynax, Hector's son; Achilles; and Penthesileia, the Queen of the Amazons:

In the year [4]544 the Trojan wars began . . . Priam, the king of Troy, reigned in that year of Tola, and ruled for 52 years, and he had sixty sons, and Aeneas who was his nephew . . . In the year 4010 Hector was the son of the king of Troy and the son of Hector, the hero Estanakti [Astynax], a great hero who was feared by all Greeks, and Achilles the Greek killed Hector. And then Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons, taught the Trojans the ways of war and how to fight

⁵ See J.N.H. Lawrence, "On Fifteenth-Century Spanish Vernacular Humanism", in I. Michael and R. A. Cardwell (eds), *Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Robert Brian Tate*, (Oxford 1986), p. 71, and n. 20; R. López Torrijos, *La Mitología en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid 1985) p. 118; Gutwirth, "Don Ishaq", p. 663.

⁶ See: Lawrence, "On Fifteenth-Century", pp. 75–78; López Torrijos, *La Mitología*, pp. 191–194.

⁷ See J.L. Lacave, "Las fuentes cristianas del Sefer Yuhasin", in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, (Jerusalem 1969) pp. 92–98.

the Greeks, in the year 4012. And when she heard word of Hector she desired him and descended to the field of the Greeks to see him . . . and he, Achilles, who went to Troy and killed Hector, and they asked the gods [whether] to go to Troy, and they answered that they should go with Achilles . . . and that year the Trojan wars began, when Priam was the king of Troy, and the war was begun because of three fair women, who were called goddesses, who the king invited to a fete, and another came who they did not invite, and in order to provoke them he sent three apples to the women, and the fairest apple he sent to the fairest in order to plant rancor among them, and on this they were divided over who was the fairest.⁸

In my opinion, the relative length at which Zacut describes the Trojan myth is related, on the one hand, to the important chronological significance given to it by Middle Ages Christian chronography. The destruction of Troy was for Christian chroniclers, whom Zacut followed, a chronological milestone, which served as a reference point in calculating the time-line on which various historical events occurred.⁹ On the other hand, the story of Troy held an important place in the historical consciousness of Christian Europe and Spain. The Trojan myth was well known in the Middle Ages primarily in the rhymed French version by Benoit de Saint-Maure, *Roman de Troie* (circa 1160), or in the refined and authoritative Latin version, *Historia Destructionis Troiae* which was edited in 1287, following Benoit de Saint-Maure's composition, by Guido delle Colonne.¹⁰ From the thirteenth century, the version of the Trojan events presented by the Castilian King Alfonso X, in his *General estoria* became

⁸ Abraham Zacut, *Sepher Yuchasin Ha-Shalem*, (ed.) Z.H. Filipowski, second edition with intro. by A.H. Freimann, (Frankfurt 1924) pp. 235b–236a. On the love of Penthesilea for Hector see: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, (ed.) G.A. Guarino, VI, (London 1964) pp. 65–66.

⁹ See *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 235b; *Primera crónica general de España, que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio*, (eds) R. Menéndez Pidal et al., (Madrid 1955) I, p. 5, b, 48–49; 92, a, 10–13; 7, a, 32–33. In chapter 6 of *Sepher Yuchasin* Zacut follows some Christian chronicles, but he constantly selects and chooses from the material and he often uses his own historiographical strategies. See: R. Ben Shalom, "Polemic Historiography in 'Sepher Yuchasin' (Hebrew), in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, (Jerusalem 1994) II, 1, pp. 121–128.

¹⁰ See C.D. Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonne's Historia Destructionis Troiae in Medieval England*, (Totawa, N.J. 1980) pp. 3–6; J. Simpson, "The Other Book of Troy: Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England", *Speculum* 73, (1998) pp. 397–423.

known in Spain, along with translations of Benoit de Saint-Maure's composition in rhymed verse such as *Historia troyana polimétrica*, and from the fourteenth century translations of delle Colonne's composition (translated into Castilian in 1350, and into Catalan in 1374), and many romances in the Aragonese, Catalan, and Castilian languages. In the first half of the fifteenth century the converso Juan de Mena (1411–1456) used the Latin version (*Ilias latina*), and edited the first translation into the Castilian language. Toward the end of the century, as mentioned, the *Iliad* was translated from Latin (from the Pier Candido Decembrio version) by Cardinal Pedro Gonzáles de Mendoza. It is important to note in this context also *Sobre el Eusebio* by Alonso de Madrigal (el Tostado, died in 1455) which comments on *De temporibus* and which deals at length with mythological issues, including the Trojan war and the destruction of the city of Troy.¹¹

The story of Troy was very popular primarily for two reasons: for one, it was a rich source of heroic and romantic tales and as such served as an appropriate framework for the courtly and chivalrous ideals of the time; another reason was that it became the founding myth of a number of nations, such as France and England, which tied their monarchic dynasties to the heroes of Troy, who were alleged to have emigrated to Europe immediately following the conquest of Troy. Alongside the historic euhemeristic approach, there developed in the Middle Ages ethnogenic concepts, which turned the mythological heroes (some of them semi-gods), into the founding fathers of various nations in Western Europe. The origin of the race was traced to those ancient heroes, and from them they drew fame. Already in the days of the Merovingian Franks, circa 660, one finds in the composition *Historia Francorum* said to be by Fredegarius, the myth of the Trojan hero Francion, Aeneas' brother, who became the founder of the Frankish kingdom from the Rhine to the Danube. This legend became an inseparable part of ethnic and historical consciousness in Western Europe.¹² And indeed, among the historical

¹¹ See A. Morel-Fatio, "Les deux Omero castilans", *Romania* 25, (1896) pp. 111–129, esp. pp. 120–121; A.D. Deyrmond, *A Literary History of Spain. The Middle Ages*, (London and New York 1971) p. 160; López Torrijos, *La Mitología*, pp. 191–193; F. Arenas, "Sobre los dioses de los gentiles de Alonso Tostado Ribera de Madrigal", *Archivo Español de Arte* 49, (1976) pp. 338–343.

¹² See A. Bossuat, "Les origines troyennes: leur rôle dans la littérature historique

facts, which appear in Zacut's chronology immediately following the account of Troy, there appear a number of the founding stories of Trojan heroes in Western Europe: two items on Aeneas, who founded a city in Italy and later became the king of Italy;¹³ the mythic story of the foundation of France by the Trojan hero Francion, after whom the French are called Franks;¹⁴ and the myth of the foundation of England by the Trojan Brute (Brutus, descendant of Aeneas), after whom the British isle is said to be named:

The birth of the English crown was in the year 83. The first king, Brutanos [Brute], son of King Latinus, killed his father, King Latinus, by accident while hunting in the fields and he fled from Illias to England, the large island in the western sea, which is called Great Britain in the West, and is in the shape of a triangle, like the island of Sicily. There were giants there and he defeated them and ruled over them. And the longest day [of the year] lasts 17 hours. Great happiness exists there, and gold, wool, and hunting dogs, and the mother of [Brute] died in childbirth.¹⁵

The first known source which tells the myth of the Trojan Brute is the *Historia Britonnum* of the English historian Nennius (c. 830). Afterwards we find the myth, largely expanded, in *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1136–1147) by Geoffrey of Monmouth, followed by the long poems of Wace (*Roman de Brut*, 1155) and Layamon (*Brute*, late 12th century). It is widely known that the stories and myths of Geoffrey of Monmouth exercised wide influence in England, France, Germany, and Italy. But during the first half of the 15th century the myth of Brute also penetrated Spain. We find the story of Brute, for example, in all its minute details in the chronicle *Victorial* (c. 1448) by Don Pero Niño. Also, Brute's naval journey with some terrestrial episodes is found in the "de las Naves" carpet (probably manufactured in Tournay in the 15th century) in the cathedral *la Seo de Zaragoza*.¹⁶

du XV^e siècle", *Annales de Normandie* 8, (1958) pp. 187–197; G. Uppert, "The Trojan Franks and their Critics", *Studies in the Renaissance* 12, (1965) pp. 227–241; C. Beaune, *Naissance de la Nation France*, (Paris 1985) pp. 19–54. A Castilian tradition (based on the *Anales Toledanos*, 1219) claims that Toledo was established by the people of Troy. See: López Torrijos, *La Mitología*, p. 191.

¹³ *Sepher Yuchasin*, pp. 236a, 236b.

¹⁴ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 236a–b; See: Beaune, *Naissance*, pp. 15–22.

¹⁵ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 236b; See: Bossuat, "Les origines".

¹⁶ See Nennius, *Historia Britonnum*, (ed.) J. Stevenson, (London 1838), 7, 10–11,

Abraham Zacut, through his abridged way of writing, sets out the essential contours of the myth of Brute and a few lines on the foundation of England (which can all be found in the chronicles of Nennius and of Geoffroy of Monmouth). In comparison to other historical data in his *Book of Genealogy*, the importance ascribed by Zacut to this story stands out. One may explain this against the background of the general phenomenon of increasing interest in Castile in the history of England and its beginnings, clearly manifested in the *Victorial*, where Pero Niño assigns a disproportionately large number of pages (some 35) to the myth of Brute.

Especially interesting, in this context of foundation myths, is Zacut's comment on the Ottoman propaganda, which justified the Ottoman conquest of Greece (Byzantium), on the grounds that they came to avenge their land, Troy; "And this Turk, who is called *Benei Tomy* (Tomy's descendents), said that he came to avenge the blood of Troy, his country, against the Greeks."¹⁷ The manipulation of the ancient Greek myth by the Ottomans was a popular topic in Christian Europe and Spain, especially in light of the fear that the Ottomans aroused after the fall of Constantinople (1453). The roots of the manipulation can be found in the Latin chronologies of the early Middle Ages, but it won support among Italian Humanists, especially from Giovanni Mario Filelfo, who, in his epic versed composition *Amyris*, dealt with Sultan Muhammad II and his conquests.¹⁸ The popular view of the Trojan ancestry of the Ottomans spread mainly because of a forged letter sent to the Pope attributed to Sultan Muhammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople. In this letter, known as the "Letter from the Great Turk" (*Epistolae Magni Turci*), the sultan justifies his aggressive actions in Asia Minor through the claim of rights of inheritance and asserts that he is not fighting the Christians for religious reasons. The letter was one of the earliest works printed in Spain in the years 1475–1476.¹⁹ It should be

pp. 6, 7–9; Geoffroy of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britannie: Ber*, *Burgerbibliothek*, Ms., (ed.) N. Wright, (Cambridge 1984) 6–7, 21–22, pp. 2–3, 13–15; J. de Mata Carriazo (ed.), *El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño, conde de Buelna* (Madrid 1940), pp. XXXIII–XXXIV, LXIV.

¹⁷ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 236a.

¹⁸ See R. Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)*, (Nieuwkoop 1967) pp. 148–149.

¹⁹ See J. Heath, "Renaissance Scholars and the Origins of the Turks", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41, (1979) pp. 455–456; F. Babinger, "Laudivius Zacchia,

pointed out that intellectuals in Western Europe made similar manipulative claims in order to justify the conquest of Byzantium by the Latins, during the fourth Crusade (1204). In light of the myth of the Trojan ancestry of the French, they maintained that the conquest of Constantinople was revenge for the fall of Troy into Greek hands. There were even some who argued that according to the same mythographic apologetics, Turkish claims were legitimate.²⁰ Zacut's short note on Ottoman rights of inheritance in Greece is indicative of the general literary-cultural expanse, in which he places several historical episodes in "The Sixth Chapter" in the *Book of Genealogy*. Similarly to Christian intellectuals of his era, he connects ancient historical events (the mythological ones among them) to the politics of the day, and exhibits political and cultural understanding.

The myth of Troy also appeared briefly in Isaac Abravanel's writings. Although he did not recount the story in detail, he assumed that the reader was familiar with it, and this fact allowed him to use it as an *exemplum*:

Did you not know the great nation which were the Trojans, as they were all gathered in one corner the Greeks came to them and destroyed them and nothing was left of them anymore. And the same happened to other nations. And because Israel is dispersed they do not suffer total extirpation. And so we saw that the king of England destroyed all the Jews in the lands of his kingdom. And so at another time did the king of France to the Jews in his land . . . and if all the Jews were gathered there, not one would be left . . . and that is why the dispersion is just and a great favor for the continuation of the nation and its rescue.²¹

According to Abravanel, the function of the mythological tales is to teach future generations a lesson in history. Thus the story of the

Erdichter der 'Epistolae Magni Turci' (Neapel 1473 u. ö.)", *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte* 13, (1960) pp. 39–42; N. Griffin, "Spanish Incunabula in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 70:2, (1988) pp. 17–20; A. Linder, "Ex Mala Parentela Bona Sequi Seu Oriri Non Potest; The Trojan Ancestry of the Kings of France and the Opus Davidicum of Johannes Angelus de Legonissa", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 40, (1978) pp. 500, and n. 26, 502, 510–511; Schwoebel, *The Shadow*, pp. 204–205.

²⁰ See Beaune, *Naissance*, pp. 21, 48–49, 360, n. 183; P.G. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age*, (Leiden 1994) p. 192.

²¹ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 32:26, in *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, (Jerusalem 1968) p. 306.

utter loss of Troy to the Greeks and the disappearance of the Trojan people shows, in his opinion, that the dispersal of the Jews among the nations was intended to prevent their complete and utter extinction. The historical examples he brings on the destruction of the Jews in England (1290) and France (1306) are inaccurate, but they are based on various historical stories on the expulsion of the Jews from England and France, stories prevalent in Spain and in the historical consciousness of Jews and Christians alike.²² In light of the common historical perception of the annihilation of Jews in England and France, the story of the conquest of Troy could serve as an appropriate *exemplum*. Thus the Homeric story served as proof of divine providence protecting the people of Israel and of a rational explanation for the character of the Jewish exile and its causes.

Similarly to the myth of Troy, the writings of Zacut and Abravanel share a number of common mythological subjects. One of them was the myth of Hercules. A number of times, Abravanel describes in his writings the exploits of Hercules—the Greek mythological figure, and in comparison to other mythic stories that appear in his writings, the great importance of this figure stands out. Here are a number of examples: When Abravanel interprets Moses' commandment to his people to prepare a stone altar (Joshua 8:30), he compares the act to the tradition among ancient nations of building memorials immediately following the conquest of another land. In order to illustrate this, he brings a realistic example of the Roman memorials built in conquered territories; the remnants of these memorials could still be seen in his day throughout Europe.²³ Abravanel emphasized, apparently according to *Primera crónica general de España* (circa 1270), by the Castilian King Alfonso X, that it was also Hercules' custom to set up monuments and markers: "In every place the great giant Hercules, the builder of cities and states, did such a thing."²⁴

²² Joseph Ha-Cohen, *Emek Ha-Bacha*, (ed.) M. Letteris, (Cracow 1895) pp. 67–68; Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 28:15–48, p. 262; Matitiah Ha-Yzhary, *Commentary on Avot*, in *Revue des études juives* 7, (1883) pp. 154–155; A. Meyuhaz Ginio, "The Expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of France in the Fourteenth Century and its Significance as Viewed by Alonso (Alfonso) de Espina, Author of *Fortalitium fidei*" (Hebrew), *Michael* 12, (1991) esp. pp. 82–80; B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition*, (New York 1995) pp. 832–839.

²³ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Joshua*, 8:30, in *Commentary on the Former Prophets*, (Jerusalem 1955) p. 44.

²⁴ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Joshua*, 8:30; See *Primera crónica*, p. 8b.

His interpretive approach toward Hercules and his approach toward the empirical remnants of Roman culture are similar. In both cases the example comes to strengthen and illustrate his historical interpretation of the biblical passage. But it is important to note that both examples are perceived as authentic historical stories—the story of Hercules (“The great giant”), the mythical founder of cities and states, is part of universal history, exactly as is the history of Rome.

The myth of Hercules also appears briefly in the *Book of Genealogy*. Zacut mentions the deeds of Hercules, from the time he killed the snakes when he was a baby in the crib, and the twelve acts of labor imposed on him.²⁵ In Abravanel’s writings Hercules appears as involved in the war between the Centaurs and the Greeks. The story also appears in the *Book of Genealogy*, but there Zacut describes the War of the Centaurs against the residents of Thessaly, without the mention of Hercules.²⁶ Abravanel, on the other hand, discusses another incident in which Hercules battled the Centaurs:

And the historians from among the ancient Greeks already wrote about the people who are called Centaurs, who they said were from the hip and above persons, and from the hip and below horses. And those [historians] who were verifiers wrote that the truth of this matter was that in those ancient days persons began to ride upon horses on the heights, and many of them pillaged and looted, and the rest of the people who were in the valley would flee from them, and they thought of them as strange creatures and that the man and the horse were as if one body, but that the upper half was man and the lower half was horse. And the great Hercules came and fought them and killed them and captured some of them alive and then the truth was discovered that they were persons who rode on horses.²⁷

The myth is presented here as an illustration and interpretation of the words of the prophet: “The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses; and as horsemen, so shall they run.” (Joel 2:4) The

²⁵ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 235a: “The last giant Hercules, the year 3845, and he killed the snakes while he was still in the crib, he also killed a lion, and did twelve recorded acts from the time of Joshua to the destruction of Troy”.

²⁶ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 235b: “And there was a great war between the Centaurs, who are half man, half horse, and the people of Thessaly, which is in Greece. They killed all the Centaurs and not one of these beasts survived”.

²⁷ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Joel*, in *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, (Jerusalem 1960) p. 68. See: R. Graves, *The Greek Myths—Combined Edition*, (London 1992) no. 102, 126, pp. 360–362, 475–478.

Biblical verse which relates the appearance of the horse to that of the horseman reminds Abravanel of the Greek myth of the Centaurs. The myth itself receives a place of honor. It is told in light of Greek historiographic writings, and it is apparent that in Abravanel's view, it should be seen as part of the education in general history required of any intellectual.

Compared to the simple version of the myth that appears in Zacut's writings—the Centaurs as strange animals (half horse and half man) who fought humans and were defeated—Abravanel's attempt to give the myth a rational explanation (based on classic historiography) is especially interesting, in that it bursts through the boundaries of mythology and places the story in the domain of human history. Abravanel distinguishes between the ancient Greek tellers of the myth (who simply present the myth), and the "verifiers"—those Greeks who critically examined the legendary material in the myth and reinterpreted it in a rational fashion. These commentators, who are known from various periods of Greek history, searched for the original texts, which were hidden behind the accepted myth. Thus they usually created their own new mythical text.²⁸ According to Abravanel, the "verifiers" tell, that after Hercules' war against the Centaurs ended, the true quality of the Centaurs was revealed. Hercules caught a number of them alive, and it turned out that they were not weird animals, half horse and half man, but ordinary people who had discovered how to ride horses and used the knowledge they gained for purposes of war and pillage. This historical explanation for the creation of the Centaur phenomenon can be found in Palaephatus' writings. Many others (such as Galen) completely dismissed their existence.²⁹ The "verifier's" more rational version allowed Abravanel to acknowledge the mythological text as an authentic historical source and in this way to use it in reinterpreting the Bible. Thus Abravanel follows after similar hermeneutic tendencies prevalent in Europe, for

²⁸ See P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths—An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, (Chicago and London 1988) esp. 67–68.

²⁹ Veyne, *Did the Greeks*, pp. 54–56, 67. The books of Palaephatus were known during the Middle Ages. Peter Comestor may have had in his hands the *De incredibilibus* of Palaephatus. The *Homeric Allegories* of Palaephatus was printed in 1505. See J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods—The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, (Princeton 1961) p. 17, n. 16, 225 [originally published as *La survivance des dieux antiques*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, XI, (London 1940)].

example in Boccaccio, who as a rational mythologer searched in his *Genealogy* for the elusive border between fact and fiction.³⁰ But it is reasonable to assume that in this case Abravanel followed Enrique de Villena, whose composition *The Twelve Labors of Hercules* presented the story of Hercules' war against the Centaurs, and under the heading of verifying commentary (Verdad), described how the discovery of horseback riding was used to enslave the Greeks and how Hercules defeated the oppressors.³¹ As mentioned earlier, Enrique de Villena was a much admired figure and a cultural model, especially among the circle surrounding Abravanel.

The importance of Hercules in Western European culture provides the foundation for Abravanel and Zacut's focus on this mythological figure. This importance is expressed in European historical consciousness (for example in seeing him as the patron of Florence), in the literature of the Middle Ages (for example in the assumption that he founded the dynasty of Burgundy dukes), and in court and church art (for example in the medals on the front of the Colleoni Chapel in Bergamo, in the Beauvais cathedral carpets, and in Dürer's paintings).³² But it seems that Abravanel's special interest is mainly a result of the central place enjoyed by Hercules in Spanish historiography. Hercules was thought, according to Spanish myth, to be the founder of the ancient Spanish monarchy. Robert Tate has shown, that the connection between Hercules and the Iberian Peninsula was first made in the thirteenth century by the Archbishop of Toledo, Ximénez de Rada. De Rada strove to connect Spain to the ancient, classical world and therefore determined that the western island of Geryon, where Hercules landed, according to the Twelve Labors

³⁰ Bietenholz, *Historia*, pp. 147–146.

³¹ Enrique de Villena, *Los doce trabajos de Hércules*, 1, (ed.) M. Arroyo Stephens, *Obras Completas*, I, (Madrid 1994) p. 15: "Esto dicho es la alegoría significación, empero la verdat de la estoria fue así. Que Uxio era un grand señor en la tierra de Greçia, todo inclinado e dado a la vida activa. E por cobdiçia de enseñorear muchas gentes e subjugar los pueblos se ingenió domar cavallos e cavalgarlos. E fizo así en el comienço çiento de cavallo, que armados corrién aquella tierra, faz-iéndose obedesçer por temor servil e estragando su voluntad los abitadores de aquellas comarcas. E los omnes e gentes d'esa sazón de tal novedat maravillados como de cosa que de antes non avían visto, cuidáronse que el omne e el cavallo en que cavalgava fuesen un cuerpo mezclado e compuesto de humana e cavalluna figuras. E pusieronles nombres çentauros, porque eran çiento e porque corrién como aura, que quiere dezir viento o aire movido".

³² See Seznec, *The Survival*, pp. 18, 24–25, 30, 32, 186, 203.

legend, was located in Hispania. He described how Hercules conquered the Iberian Peninsula and founded many cities. He also formed the link between Hercules and Hispanus, the inheritor of the kingdom. The story takes on an entirely different character in the *Primera crónica general de España*, about which Tate says:

For the Toledano, Hercules was the distributor of conquered lands to his companions in battle, like any *adelantado* of the Christian-Moorish frontier. For the compilers of the *Crónica*, he was the astrologer and the builder of strange bronze statues . . . But most important of all, from the point of view of this essay, Hispanus, the companion of Hercules in the *Toledano's* version, now become his *sobrino*, and extends his lineage to Liberia and Pyrrhus, names of classical ascendancy and subsequent mythical rulers of the peninsula.³³

In light of this it can be determined with a high degree of certainty, that the *Primera crónica general de España* is the primary source for the description of Hercules in the *Book of Genealogy* as a "Great Astrologer",³⁴ and it seems that it is also the basic source of Abravanel's stories about Hercules.

Abravanel studied the details of the Herculean dynasty through one of the versions of the *Cronica general* (a version that was perhaps written by converso circles?),³⁵ and for the first time found in it the Jewish myth of the assistance given by Pyrrhus to the King of Babylon in the conquest of Jerusalem, during the First Temple era. According to the account, after the conquest Pyrrhus led the Jerusalem exiles, who followed him of their own volition, to Spain.

And you should know that kings and magnates of the rulers of the gentiles had already come with the king of Babylon to Jerusalem and led the Jews to their lands, and among them was Pyrrhus who was the king of Sepharad, and the great Hercules who was from Greece traveled throughout the world to conquer lands with his heroism and his wisdom which was great, and [he arrived] to the western land, and after doing many heroic acts in the conquest of lands he came with many ships and a great army to Sepharad and settled there, and ruled throughout the land of Sepharad. And because he longed for

³³ R.B. Tate, "Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", *Hispanic Review* 22, (1954) pp. 6-7. See also López Torrijos, *La Mitología*, pp. 117-118.

³⁴ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 235a.

³⁵ Y. Baer, "Don Isaac Abravanel and his Attitude towards the Issues of History and State" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 8, (1937) p. 246, n. 13.

his native land, he went to the land of Italy and from there to the land of Greece, and he was one of the magnates who went to destroy the great city of Troy for the third time. And when Hercules left Sepharad he bestowed his kingdom upon the son of his sister who was called Hispan [Hispanus], and on whose name the whole land of Sepharad is called in the vernacular, Hispania. And this Hispan had but one daughter, whom Pyrrhus, who was also a Greek magnate, took as wife, and he was present at the destruction of the First Temple, and brought from Jerusalem members of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simon, and Levites and Cohenites, many persons *who willingly came with him*.³⁶

The tradition that Spanish Jewry had its origins in the First Temple exiles was found among the Jews in the tenth century, from the era of Hisdai ibn Shaprut (c. 910–970). Even though there was no real historical evidence on this, the mythic tradition was accepted as credible, and it could be used for various ideological purposes. Alongside, there were other Jewish traditions dating the arrival of the Jews to the era of King Solomon.³⁷ On the one hand, the myth of antiquity served as an indication of the cultural and intellectual greatness of all Spanish Jewry, as the descendants of the Tribe of Judah; on the other hand, it was used by a number of Jewish families, in the circles of the court, to establish their genealogical link to the house of David and to gain through this an advantage over the others.³⁸ Later the Conversos and the Anusim (= forced ones) used this myth to prove that their ancestors had not participated in the crucifixion of Jesus.³⁹

³⁶ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Kings II*, chap. 25, in *Commentary on the Former Prophets*, p. 680 [my emphasis].

³⁷ See H. Beinart, “Cuándo llegaron los judíos a España”, *Estudios* 3, (1962) p. 13; Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, (Philadelphia 1961) I, p. 16; M. Gil, “Rabbi Aharon Ha-Cohen Gaon ben Joseph and his Sons Eli and Abraham” (Hebrew), *Sefunot. Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East* New Series 1, (1980) pp. 14–15, n. 7; B.D. Weinryb, “The Beginnings of East-European Jewry in Legend and Historiography”, in M. Ben Horin et al. (eds), *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, (Philadelphia 1962) pp. 449–451.

³⁸ See Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Zacharias*, in *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, p. 239; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Continuity and Variety* (Hebrew), (Tel Aviv 1984) pp. 388, 392–393; H. Beinart, *Chapters in Judeo-Spanish History* (Hebrew), (Jerusalem 1998) I, p. 57.

³⁹ Baer, *A History*, I, p. 16; Beinart, “Cuándo llegaron”, pp. 6–7. This tradition probably appeared for the first time among the Conversos in the *Refundición de la crónica de 1344*, presumably written by a Converso from Toledo during the 1440’s.

For the Jews in Spain it was easier to accept the myth in this form and not in the alternative version, common among the Christians, according to which the Jews arrived in Spain after the destruction of the Temple by Titus (70 AD). Implicit in the Christian version was a theological connection formed by the Christians, between the destruction of the Temple and the rejection of Jesus by the Jews, and this might have served as grounds for the direct accusation of the Spanish Jews as the descendants of those who had actually carried out the crucifixion.⁴⁰ An example of this can be found in the Sephardic tradition that found an expression in Eliyahu Capsali's *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (1523). Capsali copied, almost word for word, Abravanel's traditional account of the early arrival of the Jews in Spain, but in his composition one finds the following addition:

And, thus, although all the inhabitants of Sepharad, children as well as adults, would pay the king thirty pennies, in place of the thirty pennies with which the Jews sold Jesus, their God, as the Christians tell it, the inhabitants of Toledo, the large city, were not obligated to pay because they were not to be found in Jerusalem during Jesus's time, and therefore were not obligated to pay this tax and so paid nothing.⁴¹

From the thirteenth century, the Church (backed up by the monarchy) required Castilian Jews to pay a tax of thirty dinars per male, the price of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas Iscariot (who became the Jewish prototype). The Jews of Toledo were the first in Castile to pay the tax (1219) and remained subject to it until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. But the tradition of the alleged exemption of Toledo Jewry from the thirty dinar tax was not Eliyahu Capsali's personal invention. It was an ongoing tradition and part of the myth of the Jews' early arrival in Spain, a myth that gained currency in converso circles (for example it appears in *Refundición de la crónica de 1344*, apparently written by a converso from Toledo in the 1440s). Its purpose was to absolve the conversos of guilt for the crucifixion.⁴²

⁴⁰ See D. Hook, "Some Problems in Andres Bernaldez's Account of the Spanish Jews", *Michael* 11, (1989) pp. 231–255.

⁴¹ Eliyahu ben Elqana Capsali, *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, (eds) A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonshon, M. Benayahu, (Jerusalem 1975) I, 40, p. 144.

⁴² J. Castaño, "Una fiscalidad sagrada. Los 'treinta dineros' y los judíos de Castilla", *Studi Medievali* 52, (2001) esp. 191–198. See Capsali, *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, I, 60, p. 188, who describes how this exemption of the Jews in Toledo was annulled by Isabel Queen of Castile. Castaño, "Una fiscalidad sagrada", esp. p. 196, n. 90. See also J. Levy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (Hebrew), (Jerusalem 1969) pp. 290–291.

The question of the early arrival of the Jews in Spain then moved rapidly, in the second half of the fifteenth century, to the center of Judeo-Christian-Converso discourse. But, as we shall see, this myth had important implications beyond the question of Jewish guilt and participation in the crucifixion. In this case, the myth serving the conversos, which rested on ancient Jewish traditions, apparently also fueled the historical consciousness of Spanish Jewry.

In light of this historic-political discourse and in contrast to other Jewish traditions, it was important for Abravanel to create the distinction between the Spanish Diaspora and the other diasporas of Israel. Although he assumed that exiles from the period of the First Temple also arrived at other diasporas,⁴³ his position was that in Spain exiles driven out by Titus and Hadrian, joined those who were already there from the days of the First Temple,⁴⁴ and he emphasizes that according to their genealogy, Spanish Jewry was considered to be a First-Temple diaspora, while the other diasporas were considered to be from the Second Temple.⁴⁵ This may also be the reason why the Spanish Diaspora was given higher honors among the gentiles and won a higher level of material comfort than the other diasporas.⁴⁶ And it is even possible that the fact that the Spanish Jews were able to pursue “clean” occupations as distinguished from the situation in other places (especially in Ashkenaz), was a result of this advantageous genealogy.⁴⁷

The tradition of the early arrival of Spanish Jewry dates, as mentioned, at least from the tenth century, but the myth on the manner of the arrival of these exiles in Spain and the story of the participation of the King of Spain in the conquest of Jerusalem during the First Temple era are mentioned, in the Hebrew version, for

⁴³ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Kings II*, 25, p. 681.

⁴⁴ Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Kings*, Introduction, p. 425; *Commentary on Kings II*, 25, p. 681.

⁴⁵ Isaac Abravanel, *Announcer of Salvation (Mashmi'a Yeshu'ah)*, 9, 1, in *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, p. 556.

⁴⁶ Isaac Abravanel, *Wells of Salvation (Ma'aynei ha-Yeshu'ah)*, 12, 6, in *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, p. 413.

⁴⁷ Isaac Abravanel, *Wells of Salvation*, 12, 6. Abravanel uses the term *Melachot Nekiyot* (clean crafts) in order to criticize the Ashkenazi communities who supported themselves solely by usury. See also Isaac Abravanel, *Salvation of His Anointed (Yeshu'ot Meshiho)*, (Koenigsberg 1861) p. 46a, where he accepts the version of Profayt Duran on the expulsion of the Jews of England as a verified Jewish tradition, i.e. as a result of shaving coins (*Giluach ha-Matbeot*).

the first time by Abravanel. The roots of these mythical tales are ancient and can be found in various forms in Arabic historiography in Al-Mas'udi (died 956), Ibn-al-Athir (1160–1234), and Al-Marra-kushi (1124).⁴⁸ But according to the main Islamic tradition, Isban (Hispanus) was the son of Titus, one of the “Barbarians of Rome,” and therefore this tradition, as it was, could not help Jews prove their descent from the First Temple exiles.⁴⁹ Moses ibn Ezra only knew these Islamic traditions, and therefore he relates that Hispanus “was the lord [of Hispania] during the rule of the Romans before the Goths . . . and the capital of his kingdom Seville, and [the kingdom] was named after him, and was called *Aspamia*”.⁵⁰ With Abravanel the connection between Hispanus and Titus and the Roman period disappears, the period is pre-dated by hundreds of years, and the different genealogy of Hispanus's descent from Hercules is presented.

The roots of the myth, in Abravanel's version, are in popular Spanish historiographic traditions, written in the twelfth century.⁵¹ Yizhak Baer determined that Abravanel's story of the earlier Jewish settlement in Spain was taken from one of the versions of the *Crónica general de España*, which was composed by a converso in Toledo in the fifteenth century; and in fact Abravanel even admits that he learned of the story from “The book of ancient history of the kings of Sepharad (Spain)”.⁵² At the same time, the hypothesis that there

⁴⁸ See Moshe ben Ya'akov ibn Ezra, *Kitab al-Muḥādara wal-Mudhākara (Poetica Hebraica)* (Hebrew), (ed.) A.S. Halkin, (Jerusalem 1975) p. 55, n. 93.

⁴⁹ Al-Mas'udi tells about a tradition that places Isban as one of the descendants of Japhet the son of Noah. He also suggests that his origin is from Ispahan in Persia. See: Macoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, (ed.) C. Barbier de Meynard, (Paris 1861) I, pp. 359–360. Another tradition is recorded by Izz-al-Din ibn-al-Athir, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi al-Ta'rikh (The complete book of chronicles)*, (Leiden 1899) IV, pp. 439–441. According to this tradition, Hispania was named after a man who was crucified there and whose name was Isbanes. In a different version, Isban, the son of Titus, was the king of “the barbarians of Rome”—a people that conquered Andalusia and established his capital in Seville. Afterwards Isban conquered Jerusalem and transferred its treasures to Hispania. Only many years later did the Goths invade Hispania. Ahmad b. Mohammed al-Makari, *Nafḥ al-Tib*, (Beirut 1949) pp. 131–132, summarizes the various Muslim traditions. He recounts how Isban went to Jerusalem by ship and how he destroyed it and killed a hundred thousand Jews and took another hundred thousand Jewish captives with him to Al-Andalus.

⁵⁰ Moshe ben Ya'akov ibn Ezra, *Kitab al-Muḥādara*, p. 55.

⁵¹ See J. Menéndez Pidal, “Leyendas del ultimo Rey Godo (Notas é Investigaciones)”, in *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, (Madrid 1906) pp. 878–879.

⁵² Baer, *Don Isaac*, p. 403, n. 13; Y. Baer, “The Messianic Movement in Spain in the Time of the Expulsion” (Hebrew), *Zion* 5, (1933) p. 75, n. 1; Y. Baer,

were earlier popular traditions that influenced the myth in Abravanel's account should not be dismissed.⁵³ It is in the nature of complex popular works to develop in stages. They begin with a short, simple nucleus, and over the years they grow into a complex, multi-layered work. The basis of the myth being considered here is in the Jewish tradition of the arrival of Jews in Spain during the First Temple period, and in the Muslim and Christian traditions on the participation of the king of Spain in the conquest of Jerusalem during the Second Temple period. Over time, as the cultural and social needs of Spanish Jewry changed, a new historic-mythic reality was woven into the story, making a connection between those exiled from the First-Temple period, on the one hand, and the king of Spain and figures from classic mythology, adopted by the Spanish Christian tradition, on the other. In my opinion, even though there was a Jewish oral tradition as to the early origin of Spanish Jewry, the details of the myth and its treatment of the way in which the exiles reached Spain are the result of the influence of Spanish historiography. The Christian myth (perhaps via the version of the conversos) fueled the Jewish myth and shaped it into its latter form, as it appears in Abravanel's writings.

Abraham Zacut and Isaac Abravanel formed their attitude toward the gods of Greco-Roman mythology according to the Christian euhemeristic approach.⁵⁴ The same is true for Hercules, whom Abravanel treats as one of the "ministers"—a human (and not a god) who achieved much, and who among his many achievements also founded the Spanish kingdom. He describes how Hercules acted

Untersuchungen über Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda, (Berlin 1923) p. 59; Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on Kings II*, 25, p. 681.

⁵³ Baer, *Untersuchungen*, p. 59, n. 7, also mentions that Abravanel was influenced by an ancient Jewish version that found expression in the Mantua printing of *The Book of Josiphon*. Apparently Baer changed his mind without specifying why. See Baer, *The Messianic Movement*, p. 75, n. 1. But Beinart, "Cuándo llegaron", p. 9 adopted this view and even assumed that the Mantua edition of *Josiphon* also influenced this version of the myth in *Shevet Yehuda*. However Baer and Beinart used David Ginzburg's second edition of the Mantua printing which has many mistakes in this chapter. Scrutiny of the original Mantua printing shows that there is no relation to the myth of Hercules and Pyrrhus or to the myth of the beginnings of Jewish presence in Sepharad. For detailed comparison see: R. Ben Shalom, "The Image of Christian Culture in the Historical Consciousness of the Jews of Twelfth to Fifteenth Century Spain and Provence" (Hebrew), Ph.D. Dissertation (Tel Aviv University 1996), II, pp. 666–668, n. 131.

⁵⁴ See Ben Shalom, "Myth".

bravely in the land to the west (according to the tenth “labor”), and how he decided later to settle the western edge of the world. Hercules reached Spain with a fleet of ships and an army. He conquered the land, settled and then ruled over it. After his longings for Greece grew and he decided to return, he left the members of his family to rule: his nephew Hispanus, after whom the entire land was called Hispania, and Pyrrhus who married Hispanus’s daughter.

The tradition that connects the figure of Hispanus with that of Hercules, developed in Spain and particularly in Castile, especially in order to strengthen the bonds of Spain (Hispania) with the ancient mythological founder of the land, and through him with classical mythology in general.⁵⁵ As already noted, the attempt to form a connection between the royal courts, principalities, and cities, and ancient founders was a common European historical phenomenon. Usually an attempt was also made to find an etymological link between the name of the founder (the eponym) and the name of the land (the Bretons as the descendants of Brutus, the Italians as the descendants of Italus, the Tuscans as the descendants of Tuscus etc.). Various lineages were invented for some of the ruling families and the aristocracy. For example, the princes of the Burgundy barony considered themselves to be the descendants of Hercules, who on his way to the Iberian Peninsula passed through their country and married one of the Burgundian royalty. In fact, almost every nation in Western Europe succeeded in associating to itself an ancient mythological figure. According to the popular work *Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie*, written between 1500–1512 by Jean Le Maire de Belges, the Bretons were descended from Brutus, the first king of Britain; the Spaniards were descended from Hesperus; the Italians from Italus; the men of Brabant from Brabo; the Tuscans from Tuscus; and the Burgundians from Hercules.⁵⁶ It was therefore only natural that Ximénez de Rada would try to connect between Hispanus (after whom Hispania was named) and Hercules, whom he considered to be the mythological founder. But the figure of Hispanus, as Hercules’ nephew, first appears, as previously noted, in the *Crónica general de España* and this indeed strengthens Baer’s contention that this was Abravanel’s basic source.⁵⁷ In this regard it can even be suggested that Abravanel

⁵⁵ *Primera crónica*, pp. 10–11; Tate, *Mythology*, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁶ Seznec, *The Survival*, pp. 24–26. See *Sepher Yuchasin*, 236ab.

⁵⁷ *Primera crónica*, p. 11a: “E sobre todos fizo sennor un so sobrinho, que criara

held the conservative version of the myth, since during the fifteenth century various Spanish historiographic trends tried to diminish, as much as possible, the connection between Spain and the classical world, and the myth of Hercules was firmly negated. Hercules was wildly castigated for his character and origin. He was considered to be a pirate and bandit, and it was even conjectured that it was not the same Hercules who reached Geryon, but a different Hercules. At the same time, during Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, in view of their (European) political leanings, the old myth received a new push, and it is very possible that Abravanel was familiar with the neo-conservative outlook.⁵⁸ It should also be noted that the negative historiographic attitudes towards the Hercules myth and the Greco-Roman world, were part of the phenomenon of rejecting the "non-Spanish" stranger.⁵⁹ Abravanel, as a Jew, one whom fifteenth century Hispanic society could see as part of those non-Spanish "others," certainly must have felt an identification with the myth's older version, more pluralistic in outlook.

It is interesting to observe that Abraham Zacut presented a different mythic version as to the source of the name Hispania. According to him the land was named after King Hesperus, and not after Hispanus.⁶⁰ This version, presented by Zacut, was adopted in Spain by the same historiographic trend that tried to conceal, to reduce, or to negate the myth of Hercules and Hispanus. This trend emphasized the Hesperus myth, with its focus on a local, non-foreign, king, as opposed to Hispanus who was considered a trespasser and the descendant of the infamous pirate.⁶¹

de pequeno, que auie nombre Espan; y esto fizo el por quel prouara por much esforçado e de buen esso; e por amor de camio el nombre a la tierra que ante dizen Esperia e pusol nombre Espanna".

⁵⁸ See the attacks on Hercules by Sánchez de Arévalo, Ruy Sánchez, Margarit i Pau and Fabricio de Vagad in Tate, *Mythology*, pp. 9–13. These issues are also expressed in another Sephardic tradition which reached Eliyahu Capsali, *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, 59, I, p. 187: "And the king of Aragon ruled over all of Sepharad. And since the day that Hispan ruled over Hispania, Sepharad has never been ruled by a single king but by a great number [of kings]. But now, this king [Ferdinand] ruled over all".

⁵⁹ Tate, *Mythology*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 234b. According to the *Primera crónica*, pp. 9b, 11a, the land conquered by Hercules was called *Esperia*, but from the days of Hispanus its name was changed to *Espanna*.

⁶¹ See Tate, *Mythology*, p. 11. It is especially emphasised in the works of Fabricio de Vagad.

The Jewish myth in Abravanel's version even integrated wonderfully into the mythic oeuvre of Christian-Spanish society, which shaped the Hispanic national consciousness. Ron Barkai has shown how Christian chroniclers tried, using myths (such as Pelayo in the Covadonga Cave, Santiago de Compostela and others), to build a collective Hispanic identity, based on the concept of Spanish territorial unity, overriding any particularistic divisions that divided the various kingdoms (sometimes including the Muslims), and the clear distinction between Hispania and the other countries of the world. This identity was based on the perception of Spain as a country, as a common homeland, which was formed and seen as the chosen land. From this perspective, Spanish identity was essentially the primary one, while the Christian identity was a sub-identity.⁶² In another place Barkai discussed Spanish Jewry's patriotic conceptions. He dealt with the sense of cultural superiority among Spanish Jewry, whose outstanding expression was found in the art of poetry, and with the historic conception of Abraham ibn Daud of Toledo, who placed Spain and Spanish Jewry at the center of Diaspora history (1161). But, as opposed to the patriotic conception in the Christian society, which viewed Spanish land as one homeland, single and united, Jewish patriotic feelings were divided between two channels: their present dwelling and their previous homeland. According to Barkai, despite the Jews' love of Spain, their metaphysical connection to the Land of Israel was stronger than the earthly connection to Spain.⁶³ On the other hand, in my opinion the ancient foundation myth of the Spanish Diaspora strengthens the earthly Spanish patriotic channel, and it should be read in light of Hispanic patriotic myths and conceptions: just as the Christians emphasized the uniqueness of Hispania as distinguished from other countries of the world, the Jewish myth emphasized the uniqueness of the Spanish Diaspora among the other Diasporas. The Christians emphasized the ancient mythological founders, and the Jews integrated themselves as part of the very same foundation mythologies. The Christians built their

⁶² R. Barkai, *Cristianos y Musulmanes en la España Medieval (El enemigo en el espejo)*, (Madrid 1984) esp. pp. 293–297.

⁶³ R. Barkai, "Patriotic Perceptions of the Jews of Spain in the Middle Ages against the Background of Patriotism of Christians and Muslims" (Hebrew), in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, (Jerusalem 1982) II, pp. 39–46.

perception of self, among other things, on the Gothic racial uniqueness of their royal lineage (the Leonic-Asturian) as direct descendants of the Visigoths,⁶⁴ while the Jews sought to establish, through myth, their descent from the House of David.

It is interesting to observe that the Spanish-Jewish writer Solomon ibn Verga noted the connection between the Jewish myth and those Hispanic myths. In the seventh chapter of *Shevet Yehudah* (the beginning of 16th century) which includes the famous dialogue between King Alfonso and the scholar Thomas, he presents the story of the conquest of Jerusalem, in a version similar to Abravanel's (who serves as his primary source), and adds a number of interesting details: Thomas tells the king how Nebuchadnezzar divided the captured residents of Jerusalem. Two thirds of the people, including the artisans, the intellectuals and the merchants, were taken with him to Babylon, and the remaining third, which included the descendants of the king, the House of David and the Temple Priests, were given to Pyrrhus and Hispanus, in gratitude for having conquered the city.⁶⁵ Therefore, notes Thomas, the king should not be astonished at finding among the Jews in Spain, those who are descendants (as was the Abravanel family) of the royal lineage and the House of David.

In Alfonso's answer to Thomas, the Jewish and the Christian myths are presented side by side:

And it became known throughout the world that among all the peoples there is no one who, like these poor Jews, can tell of his origin, descent, and pure roots. And we see that our forefathers, great kings, delighted in their descent from the *Godos* [Goths]. And some of the tellers related that the *Godos* were descended from the seed of Gad, the son of Jacob the patriarch. And someone came from this seed to Rome and converted to the faith of Jesus and achieved greatly, and succeeded in becoming the head of all the advisors called consuls. Afterwards he became king, and from him came the family of *Godos*. And when you examine all the other peoples [of the world] you will not discover from which root they come . . . neither about these nor

⁶⁴ See Barkai, *Cristianos*, pp. 38–44, 294.

⁶⁵ Solomon ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, (eds) A. Shohat and Y. Baer, (Jerusalem 1947) p. 33. In the story as related by ibn Verga, similar to Abravanel, Hispanus is mentioned together with Pyrrhus as one of the conquistadors of Jerusalem. See Beinart, "Cuándo llegaron", pp. 12–13; Baer, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 59–60; A. Shohat in *Shevet Yehudah*, pp. 173–174.

those do we know the truth of their origin . . . and this means but to say that there is no renowned roots for the families, while for these poor Jews, the[ir] roots have stood.⁶⁶

Alfonso's version of the Christian myth shows that the Spanish monarchy was descended from the Visigoth ("Godos") monarchy, with reference to the biblical tribe of Gad (according to the phonetic similarities between Godos and Gad). Therefore, by their genealogy the Kings of Spain are elevated over other nations, who do not have a clear historic tradition as to their exact origin.⁶⁷ And indeed the kings of Castile wished to present a genealogy reaching back to the important Visigoth kings. Alfonso de Cartagena, for example, attributed to Juan II of Castile the respectable descent from King Alaric, the "thief" of Rome; and Fernán Pérez de Guzmán claimed that Enrique III was descended from King Recared, who converted to the Catholic faith.⁶⁸ Spanish society accepted these myths as historical facts, and they were also accepted by the Jews, as expressed by Solomon ibn Verga, and as expressed, for example, in the Spanish Jewish tradition in *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*: "He King Don Juan II, who came from the race of ancient Spanish kings."⁶⁹ The Christian myth in *Shevet Yehudah* is also wonderfully consistent with the Spanish perception of self, as expressed, for example, in the writings of Vincentius Hispanus (thirteenth century), who wrote of the supremacy of Hispania over the other Christian kingdoms.⁷⁰ Alongside this, the myth in *Shevet Yehudah* emphasizes the superior genealogy of Spanish Jewry, as the direct descendants of the Davidian monarchy, and therefore, paradoxically, King Alfonso understands that among the Jewish families in Spain there are more important monarchic lines of descent than among the Spanish monarchy.

⁶⁶ *Shevet Yehudah*, pp. 34–35.

⁶⁷ On the Neo-Gothic Myth in Spain see J.A. Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media*, (Madrid 1964) pp. 326–337. Usually the Goths were considered as descendants of Gog and Magog. This notion was established especially after Ambrosius, *De fide*, II, 16, in PL, XVI, cols. 587–588.

⁶⁸ See S. Shepard, *Lost Lexicon: Secret Meanings in the Vocabulary of Spanish Literature During the Inquisition*, (Miami 1982) p. 61. On Alonso de Cartagena's *Regum Hispanorum . . . Anacephaleosis* see F. Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de Conversos*, (Madrid 1952) pp. 460–462; Netanyahu, *The Origins*, pp. 517–577.

⁶⁹ Capsali, *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, 56, I, p. 180.

⁷⁰ G. Post, "'Blessed Lady Spain'—Vincentius Hispanus and Spanish National Imperialism in the Thirteenth Century", *Speculum* 28, (1954) pp. 198–209, esp. n. 44; Barkai, "Patriotic Perceptions", p. 40.

The dialogue between Alfonso and Thomas was constructed by Solomon ibn Verga from a viewpoint that directed irony, social criticism, and polemic towards Jews and Christians alike. But the way in which he constructed the story indicates that he himself well understood the direct connection between the foundation myths of the society's majority and minority: on one hand the Visigoth foundation, related to the ancient Hispanic foundation by Hispanus and Pyrrhus, and on the other, the foundation of the Jerusalem Diaspora in Spain.⁷¹ It should also be said that the very fact that King Alfonso was interested in the genealogical connection of Abravanel's family to the House of David⁷² is not unusual in the Spanish social-political discourse of the fifteenth century. Although this is an imaginary narrative, woven by ibn Verga, its roots are well founded in the Christian perception of the Jews in Spain. The acceptance of the Jewish myth as fact by Thomas the Christian scholar in the story is confirmed by a list of statements made by other Christians in fifteenth century Spain. It is recounted, for example, that Paulus de Santa Maria often claimed, similarly to Thomas, that if "nobility" meant "antiquity," then the Jews had the strongest claims in this matter.⁷³ From the second half of the fifteenth century, the question of Jewish genealogy and the nobility was at the heart of a raging polemic taking place within Spanish society between those who opposed the conversos and those who supported them. Against the racist contentions hurled at the conversos, on their lowly Jewish origin and on the need to unseat them from their high station in Spanish society, a series of intellectuals from the converso camp emphasized the ancient nobility of the Jews and their descent from the House of David. Some even claimed that the Jewish nobility was superior in its attributes to Spanish nobility.⁷⁴ That was in fact one of the conclusions

⁷¹ Usually, in the historical consciousness of Spanish people in the Middle Ages, there was a clear distinction between the ancient Hispanic population and the Visigoths. See A. Castro, *The Spaniards. An Introduction to Their History*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1985) pp. 10–19.

⁷² *Shevet Yehudah*, p. 33.

⁷³ E. Gutwirth, "Lineage in XVth c. Hispano-Jewish Thought", *Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* 34, (1985) p. 87; Netanyahu, *The Origins*, p. 517. The sayings of Paulus de Santa Maria were by Juan de Lucena. See: D. Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth Century Spain", *Past and Present* 174, (2002) pp. 3–41.

⁷⁴ See Netanyahu, *The Origins*, pp. 554–569, 578–583.

which arise from the story of ibn Verga, who was apparently close to the converso circles, and acted on their behalf.⁷⁵

Joseph Shatzmiller has discussed the way in which the Jews in Western Europe used their community's foundation myths. He emphasizes the function of the myth as a ground for political claims both within the Jewish community and outside it in contacts with the Christians.⁷⁶ In this context we have seen how the myth of the early Jewish settlement of Spain allowed the Jews and the conversos to reject the accusation that they had participated in the crucifixion of Jesus. The central emphasis in this use of the myth was placed on the time of the arrival of the Jews in Spain, which preceded the crucifixion. But the myth, as it was formulated in Abravanel's later version (and subsequently by ibn Verga), can also be interpreted differently. Abravanel's version allowed first and foremost for the connection between the origins of the Spanish diaspora and the mythological founders of Spain: Hercules, Hispanus, and Pyrrhus. The story calls attention to the common starting point of the two nations in Spain, since Pyrrhus was the one who brought the Jews to the land. In that way, and with the addition of the emphasis that the Jews came with him willingly, the myth ties the nations together and expresses a shared destiny, a common beginning and a common historic origin.⁷⁷ In this respect, the Jewish story is similar to the foundation myths told by other European nations which, as we have shown in the discussion of Abraham Zacut, were also well known among the Jews. Similarly to Christian narratives, the Jewish myth recounts that the Jews came to Spain together with Pyrrhus (a Greek hero from Hercules' noble family), who therefore was no less important than the Trojan heroes who appear in other "national" stories. In the Middle Ages it was known to all that the Jews came from far away (meaning that they were not autochthonic residents of

⁷⁵ M. Benayahu, "A Source Concerning the Spanish Exiles in Portugal and Their Departure to Salonika" (Hebrew), *Sefunot. Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East* 11, (1971–1978) p. 250.

⁷⁶ See J. Shatzmiller, "Politics and the Myth of Origins: The Case of the Medieval Jews", in G. Dahan (ed.), *Mélanges en l'honneur de Bernard Blumenkranz*, (Paris 1985) pp. 49–61. See also Weinryb, *The Beginnings*, pp. 449–551.

⁷⁷ See J. Genot-Bismuth, "L'argument de l'histoire dans la tradition espagnole de polémique judéo-chrétienne d'Isidore de Seville à Isaac Abravanel, et Abraham Zacuto", in Y.K. Stillman and N.A. Stillman (eds), *From Iberia to Diaspora. Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, (Leiden, Boston and Köln 1999) pp. 204–206.

the Iberian Peninsula). But according to the Jewish myth, it turns out that they were not simply the descendants of those exiled or banished who arrived in Spain against their will, but rather, first and foremost, were the descendants of a group of immigrants who, like the Trojan groups of Aeneas and Francion, willingly immigrated from the East to the West, after the disaster which, at the commandment of God or through the decree of the gods, befell their city (Jerusalem, in the case of the Jews, or Troy in the case of the nations of Italy, France, Germany, and England), in order to establish a new settlement in Western Europe. By means of this myth, Spanish Jews were able to share in the same Hispanic patriotic tendencies that developed through similar myths in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. These tendencies usually emphasized the “national” Hispanic aspects, sometimes at the expense of religious ones. Thus they were the basis for patriotic identification among the Jews. From the end of the fourteenth century, Spanish Jewry underwent a number of crises: the 1391 riots, Vincent Ferrer’s sermons (1411–1415), the Valladolid Laws (1412), the Tortosa Disputation (1413–1414), which included voluntary conversions of communities and individuals. The communities even needed to redefine their socio-religious boundaries, in light of the growth of neighboring communities of conversos and *anusim*, and an answer was needed for the extreme sermons of the Mendicant friars and new ideological trends which called for the expulsion of the Jews, similarly to the earlier expulsions from the kingdoms of England and France.⁷⁸ The synthesis of the Hispanic foundation myth with the Jewish foundation myth was, in my opinion, one of the Jewish responses to these new trends. It allowed the redefinition of Jewish identity in Spain and especially strengthened Hispanic components that were part of that collective identity.

⁷⁸ See Baer, *A History*, II, pp. 283–92; Meyuhaz Ginio, “The Expulsion”, pp. 67–82; R. Ben Shalom, “The Blood Libel in Arles and the Franciscan Mission in Avignon in 1453” (Hebrew), *Zion* 63, (1998) pp. 400–402.

PART FOUR
CASE STUDIES

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“MAHOMET ABENADALILL”: A MUSLIM MERCENARY
IN THE SERVICE OF THE KINGS OF ARAGON
(1290–1291)

Brian A. Catlos

*Alphonse, by the grace of God, etc., to all of Our officials
and subjects and to all to whom the present letter reaches,
greetings. Know ye that the noble Mahomet Abenadalill is
Our vassal and a member of Our household . . .*¹

From February 1290 until November 1291, “Mahomet Abenadalill”, a courtier and warrior of Muslim Granada served the Christian king Alphonse III of Aragon (1285–1291) as a soldier, and attended his successor James II (1291–1327) as an envoy.² Abenadalill’s brief but intense flurry of activity in the Crown of Aragon makes him the best documented of the many Muslim mercenaries who served in thirteenth-century Christian Iberia. Although his career in the Crown has drawn the attention of several historians in the past, it deserves a fresh look in order to clarify an engaging historical episode, to fill in a few documentary gaps, and to reassess the phenomenon of inter-confessional politics in the Iberia of the age of Crusades.³ In an era

¹ “N’Anfos, per la gratia de Deu, etc., a tots oficials et sotsmeses nostres e als quals les presens vendran, salutem et gratiam. Fem vos saber quel noble en Mahomet Abenadalil es vassayl nostre et es de nostre casa”. ACA, C., reg. 83, f. 71r (10 August 1290). The documents referred to in this article are found in the registers of the Cancilleria collection of the Arxiu de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona). Research at the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Archivo Municipal de València, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca and the Arxiu del Regne de València and various local archives did not turn up any documentation relating to Abdenadalill or his associates. All translations to English are mine. Count-kings of Barcelona-Aragon-Valencia are enumerated according to the Aragonese fashion.

² Mahomet’s correct name may have been Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh, ibn al-‘Adl or ibn al-‘Ādil. Since Muhammad the *jenet* appears only in Christian documentation, the Latin/Romance version of his name will be used throughout this article. His surname, which appears in various spellings (e.g.: Abenadalyl, Abenadalill) in the documents, is referred to as “Abenadalill” uniformly in the present article.

³ The title of this paper borrows intentionally from E. Lourie’s “A Jewish Mercenary in the Service of the King of Aragon”, *Revue des études juives* 137, (1978) pp. 367–373

so readily characterised as one of Reconquest and Holy War and so conveniently imagined in terms of grand ecumenical frontiers, the use of 'infidels' by the Christian kingdoms should not be dismissed merely as anomalous or anecdotal, but should call into question an assumption which has too strongly informed peninsular historiography: that "friend or enemy, master or disciple, the Moor is always the Other".⁴

Mahomet Abenadalill in the Crown of Aragon, 1290–1291

Mahomet Abenadalill seems to have made his entry onto the Aragonese stage in February 1290. Mahomet and two other Muslim nobles, Jucef Abenzubayba and Mahomet Algranadaxi, had apparently incurred the displeasure of their king, Muhammad II al-Faqih (1273–1302) of Granada, and were looking for a place of refuge and employment for themselves and their troops until such a time as they could return home.⁵ They had likely made contact by approaching Abraham Abenamies, a Jewish courtier who served Alphonse as

[repr., E. Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*, (Aldershot 1990): Essay VIII], which makes mention of Mahomet (p. 369 and p. 371). F. Gazulla's "Las campañas de zenetes en el Reino de Aragón (1284–1291)", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 90, (1927) pp. 174–196 provides an overview of Mahomet's career and contains editions or partial editions of a number of documents (188–93) but must be used with caution due to its numerous errors of citation and transcription. Abenadalill also appears in A. Giménez Soler, "Caballeros españoles en África y Africanos en España", *Revue hispanique* 12 & 16, (1905 & 1907) pp. 299–372 & pp. 56–69 (see 350); and E. Lourie, "Anatomy of Ambivalence. Muslims under the Crown of Aragón in the Late Thirteenth Century", in *Crusade and Colonisation*, Essay VII, pp. 73–74. For Alphonse's relations with Granada see C.-E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, (Paris 1966) especially pp. 216–18. Also relevant are A. Ducellier, *Chrétiens d'Orient et Islam au Moyen Âge: VII^e–XV^e siècle*, (Paris 1996), and A. Giménez Soler, *La Corona de Aragón y Granada*, (Barcelona 1909). All documents referred to in this study were consulted in the original, only those which have been edited are cross-referenced to the above-mentioned publications. For a look at contemporary Christian mercenaries serving in North Africa, see S. Barton, "Traitors of Faith? Christian mercenaries in Al-Andalus and the Magreb, C. 1100–1300", in R. Collins and A. Goodman (eds.), *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, (New York 2002) pp. 23–45.

⁴ "... amigo o enemigo, maestro o discípulo, el moro es siempre el otro...". M. García Morente, *Ideas para una filosofía de la historia de España*, (Madrid 1942) pp. 55–56 quoted in J.M. Lacarra, "Ideales de la vida en la España del siglo XV: el caballero y el moro", *Aragón en la Edad Media* 5, (1983) p. 309.

⁵ In this sense they were participating in a grand peninsular tradition wherein nobles who had fallen out of favour took refuge and sought service in the courts

a diplomat and who had recently made the journey to Granada to negotiate a treaty between the that kingdom and the Crown. Abenamies' mission to Granada included a request to the Muslim king for the loan of four hundred *jeneti* to use against the king of France.⁶ According to the terms of the treaty, Muhammad II could not make arrangements to send mercenaries, the king wanted permission to send an agent of his own to recruit forces in Granadan lands.⁷ Just as his father, Alphonse had already used the aid of Muslim mercenaries with good result and it comes as no surprise that the king, who was then at Zaragoza, accepted the offer of Abenadalill and his companions, directing them to proceed to València with their companies in order to be outfitted, and encouraging them with the possibility of regaining favour with their king through loyal service to him: "for as We know, whoever serves Us [thereby] serves the King of Granada".⁸

Alphonse could make such an assertion because Abenamies' mission had resulted in the conclusion of a five-year pact between the two kingdoms. Muhammad II had already concluded a treaty with the Castilian pretender Alfonso de la Cerda, who was fighting Sancho IV (1284–1295) for the crown; Alphonse also supported the Castilian

of their confessional rivals. This was common practice dating back almost as far as the Muslim conquest of the eighth century, the most notable example of whom was the future king Alphonse VI of Castile, who as a prince had lived in exile in the taifa kingdom of Toledo. See below, n. 8, for the document referring to Abenadalill's recruitment. No hints are given as to how Mahomet and his companions had fallen out of favour. At this time Muhammad II was consolidating his hold on his territory which might have led him to see these noblemen as a threat. On the other had they may somehow offended the religious lobby of the kingdom, whose power was increasing at this time. See J.E. López de Coca Castañer, "El período nazarí (siglos XIII–XV)", in *Historia de Granada, II. La época medieval*, (Granada 1987) p. 252.

⁶ For Abenamies, see D. Romano, "Judíos escribanos y turjamanes de árabe en la Corona de Aragón (reinados de Jaime I a Jaime II)", *Sefarad* 38, (1978), pp. 90–2 and 93–5; also Lourie, "Jewish Mercenary", p. 368. Gazulla incorrectly identifies Abenamies as the contemporary Jewish Aragonese diplomat Abraham Abengallel. See Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 188. Derived from the name of the Berber tribe, the Banu Zanāta, *jenet* (*jenetus*, *genet*) became a generic term for foreign Muslim soldiers and a synonym for light cavalry. For the etymology see J.M. Alcóver, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, (Barcelona 1930–69), s.v. "genet."

⁷ ACA, C., reg. 73, f. 70v (26 December 1289). Although the text does not match up completely, this document appears to be that which is quoted by Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 188 without a citation of the source. Gazulla dates the document 6 January 1290, where as the text reads "VI dies a l'entrada del mes de Januarie."

⁸ ACA, C. reg. 73, f. 77v (24 February 1290), edited in Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 189. I read "Algranadaxi" where Gazulla reads "Alzranadaxi".

rebel and thus the latest treaty established a triple entente, in which the Aragonese king promised that he would respect the terms of the other two parties' agreement and remain faithful to the articles which he had established with Muhammad.⁹ At this time Alphonse was fighting on several fronts. Although the *Uniones*, the noble uprising which had shaken the Kingdom of Aragon in 1287, had subsided (not without serious compromises being made on the part of the king), the war with Castile which had simmered throughout his reign flared up again in 1289.¹⁰ In response to Aragonese support for his would-be usurper, Sancho launched an attack on the Jalón frontier. According to Zurita, Sancho "called a general muster of the knights and nobles of his kingdoms, and procured that they gather at Almazán, where great companies of men-at-arms and *jeneti* and a great number of foot-soldiers converged".¹¹ The Crown also faced the threat of a second French invasion as a consequence of Peter III's (1276–1285) annexation of Angevin Sicily. Moreover, France (and its vassal Navarre), which had the support of the Papacy, the king of Mallorca and the king of Naples (who aspired to the throne of Sicily), was drawing closer to Castile.¹² Aside from Alfonso de la Cerda and Muhammad II, the Crown's allies against this grand coalition included Genoa, Pisa, Béarn and Egypt.¹³ Marinid Morocco, which had positive relations with both the Crown of Aragon and Castile, managed a delicate neutrality.¹⁴

⁹ J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, (Zaragoza 1967–70, orig.: 1562), 2 p. 375 {IV: CIX}.

¹⁰ The *cortes* of Monzón convened in September 1289 brought internal peace to the Alphonse's realms, freeing his hands to confront external foes.

¹¹ "... mandó hacer llamamiento general de los caballeros y hijosdalgo de sus reinos; y proveyó que se juntasen con él en Almazán, a donde concurrieron grandes compañías de gentes de armas y jinetes y mucho número de peones...". Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 375 {IV: CIX}. The allusion to *jeneti* here may simply refer to light cavalry.

¹² France and Castile formally joined forces with the Treaty of Bayonne in 1290, when Philip the Good renounced his support of the Castilian pretender. As king of Mallorca, James II (1276–1311) was a natural rival to the Crown and had been allied with the French Angevins during the reign of Peter III (1276–1285). His enmity of Alphonse had been sealed by the latter's invasion and conquest of Mallorca in 1285. Until late 1289 the anti-Aragonese coalition also had the support of members of the family of the Count of Pallars. See Zurita, *Anales*, 2, pp. 381–2 {IV: CXI}.

¹³ Edward I of England (1272–1307) was courted as an ally, and would eventually send his daughter Eleanor to marry Alphonse—a union ultimately prevented by the former's death.

¹⁴ See Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane*, pp. 216–18.

No further details emerge regarding Mahomet's service to Alphonse in early 1290. He may have been sent to fend off the French attack which had been launched from Navarre in late 1289 (and which had provoked the king's appeal to Granada), but this was not the only trouble spot. At this time Alphonse's dispossessed uncle James II was also raiding in the Empordà and massing forces in Roussillon for an attempt to retake Mallorca. Finally, the war with Castile continued along the length of the frontier which separated the two kingdoms—it is likely here that Mahomet was sent. The Jalón frontier was a favourite venue for raiding and the lands of Soria, Osma and Sigüenza were the object of important *razzias*. In 1290 more organised campaigning took place in the lands of Cuenca, where the Castilian renegade Juan Núñez de Lara (Johannes Nunez, in the documents), who controlled Moya and Cañete, went over to Alphonse. Here two pitched battles, at Pajarón and Chinchilla, resulted in the defeat of Sancho's forces—an advantage which Alphonse was prevented from capitalising on by a French attack on his northern front.¹⁵

The next documentary notices of Mahomet date from the summer of 1290, when he was apparently fighting on the Valencian-Castilian frontier, and at which time he was presumably still *persona non grata* in his homeland.¹⁶ In a letter to Muhammad II dated 16 August, Alphonse noted that he felt "well-compensated by the services performed by Mahomet Abenadalill"—likely an effort on the part of the Christian king to help the *jenet* regain the favour of his sovereign and to reinforce Mahomet's loyalty. Indeed, a few days

¹⁵ Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 405 {IV: CXIX}.

¹⁶ In a document dated in early July, Alphonse thanks the Valencian merchant Jaime Carbonell for having lent him "de bono amore" 13,000 solidi to cover the quitatio of "the noble Aboabdelel Abenadalill and the *jeneti* who with him have entered in our service and in the defence of our land". The was undoubtedly Mahomet, whose name was garbled by an uncomprehending secretary, or is perhaps referred to here by a filonymic "Abu 'Abd Allāh". The royal scribe Ramon Escorna (Raimundus Oscorna) was to reimburse Carbonell one thousand solidi whereas the balance would be raised from the Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities of Valencia by the treasurer Arnau Sabastida (Arnaldus de Bastida). ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 61v–62r (2 July 1290). Arnau later went on to occupy the post of Mestre Racional (royal exchequer) under James II. See T. Montagut i Estragués, *El Mestre Racional a la Corona d'Aragó (1283–1419)*, (Barcelona 1987) p. 119 {104}. The order for collection was issued to these various communities nearly two months later, when Alphonse was back in the kingdom's capital. ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 64v (26 August 1290).

earlier Alphonse had sent two of Abenadalill's men as messengers to the Granadan court, informing Muhammad that Juan Núñez had changed sides, and hoping to receive intelligence regarding the state of the Marinid fleet. The fact that the king sent these two as envoys indicated at once the his confidence in the Muslim mercenary, and his desire to reconcile the Nazrid ruler with Mahomet (who could be quite useful in Granada as a diplomatic contact and an agent, willing or not).¹⁷

Alphonse was apparently not exaggerating his esteem for the mercenary, for on 10 August he formally accepted Mahomet as a vassal—a measure not normally taken with soldiers for hire. This presumably took place in València where the king was, and undoubtedly involved some sort of ceremony or formality which both parties attended in person.¹⁸ According to the charter with which the king presented him, Mahomet was to become his vassal for life, receiving a gift of one “dobla dalmir” and a salary of eight *besants* per day—perhaps six times the going rate for a horseman.¹⁹ Abenadalill's recompense was to be commensurate with his responsibilities, and he was now named permanent commander-in-chief (*cap*) of all the Muslim mercenaries in the king's service. His troops were to be paid the customary rate (unspecified in the document), while Mahomet also received the right to collect the royal share of one-fifth of any

¹⁷ “femos vos saber que l'otro dia vos embiamos dos cavalleros de Abnadalyt et com los quales nos respondiessedes que qualque ardit sapiessedes dela armada d'Abojacob . . .”; “Et sepades que sumas [sic] muy pagados del servicio que nos faze don Mahomet Abnadaliyl”. ACA, C., reg., 73, f. 87r-v (16 August 1290). Gazulla briefly quotes this document, but neglects to provide a reference. See Gazulla, “Las campañas de zenetes”, p. 191. Four days later, the envoys had apparently still not left given that Alphonse ordered his secretary to issue “Adalilum” and “Abdizelem Abenzagiam,” whom he was sending to the Kingdom of Granada an expense chit for one hundred *solidi*. It is not inconceivable that “Adalilum” might have been Mahomet's son Jucef. ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 64r (20 August 1290).

¹⁸ The letter is addressed to Mahomet and must have been the charter which he would have carried with him as a bona fide. The suggestion that Mahomet would have met with the king is supported (albeit inductively) by the fact that no instructions are recorded to any third-party official to act as the king's lieutenant to accept the Granadan soldier's vassalage.

¹⁹ In this period the besant was reckoned at a little more than three *solidi*. The *dobla dalmir* (or *dupla*) referred to here is not likely the insignificant “dobla del amir” of the twelfth century (valued at approximately three *solidi*), but rather the gold “dobla granadina” of the Nazrid kings, perhaps valued in the range of fifteen *solidi*. F. Mateu y Llopis, *Glosario hispánico de numismática*, (Barcelona 1946) s.v. “besant,” “dobla,” “dobla del amir,” “dobla granadina,” and “dobla morisca vella”.

booty (the *quinta*) which was taken not only on raids in which he participated, but in any actions carried out by foreign Muslim troops in the Crown, and including the plunder taken by any Christian soldiers who might accompany those forces.²⁰ He and his troops were also granted a sort of 'diplomatic immunity' from civil and criminal jurisdictions—in which they could be prosecuted only at royal discretion. In exchange Mahomet agreed to continue in the king's service even once he had eventually returned to Granada, so that Alphonse could summon him along with a company of *jeneti* whenever the need arose. In the event that Mahomet was indisposed, his son, "the noble Iucep" was to act as his lieutenant with the option of applying to be the king's vassal and a member of the royal household himself. The most striking aspect of the agreement was that it was to remain in effect (and Abenadalill was to continue receiving his salary) even once he had returned home to Granada—he was to become a permanent retainer and salaried member of the king's household, despite his religion and despite the fact that he was to resume residence in his homeland.²¹

In confirmation of all of the above, the Muslim commander was issued an open-ended *guidaticum*, or 'letter of transit' announcing him to Alphonse's subjects as a royal retainer who would be frequently coming and going from the Crown in order to fight the king's enemies, and that he was to be treated with "love and honour" and given "counsel and aid" by the subjects of the Crown.²² Further, the

²⁰ The Catalano-Aragonese kings levied a one-fifth tax on all booty of war, a policy which would have resonated with Mahomet's own expectations—since the early days of Islamic society the Prophet (or later, caliph) was entitled to the same portion as a tax on booty.

Granting the *quinta* was not infrequently used as an incentive for military commanders. The previous year, Alphonse had granted his tax on the booty taken from Castile by Rodericus Egidii (or Gil), who was based at Monreal. ACA, C., reg. 80, f. 89v (4 November 1289).

²¹ ACA, C., reg. 83, f. 70r-v (14 August 1290), edited in Giménez Soler, *La Corona*, p. 350 n. 1, and Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", pp. 189–90. Gazulla dates this document incorrectly as 23 August 1290 (see Lourie's comments in "Mercenary," 369 n. 12).

Of course, many Jews were members of the royal *domus* or *familia* and the served the Aragonese kings in positions of the highest trust and prestige in public administration. See, for example, D. Romano, "Cortesianos judíos en la Corona de Aragón", *Destierros aragoneses* 1, (1988) pp. 25–37 [repr. in his *De historia judía hispánica*, pp. 401–413], and, generally, D. Romano, *Judíos al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragón (1276–1285)*, (Barcelona 1983).

²² Document cited above, n. 1.

Christian official Bartolomeu Caribodes (or Canbodes?) was assigned to accompany Abenadalill as a royal representative, acting as a liaison (and possibly an interpreter). He was to work to ensure smooth relations with local populations and Christian soldiers, punishing any one who attempted to provoke any confrontation with or otherwise mistreat the Muslim company. He was also to administer (and monitor) Mahomet's entitlement to the *quinta*, and to facilitate the ransoming of any prisoners (here described as Christian men and women) and the sale of other plunder which might be taken in the course of raids. Disbursements were to be made directly to Abenadalill or to Abraham Abenamies, who would act as his agent in the Crown. Finally, Bartolomeu was issued a *guidaticum* and a mount (*una bestia*), which he was soon to put to use.²³

With the formalities concluded, Alphonse wasted little time in putting his new vassal back in action, despatching him to the southern borderlands of the Kingdom of Valencia, where Mahomet went into battle against Castilian forces almost immediately. A brief note of 1 September informed a certain Sancius Petri that Arnau Sabastida would be administering the *quinta* of the *cavalcata* which Abenadalill was carrying out at that time in Castile.²⁴ By 3 September, word had been sent back that nine horses had been lost in engagements with the enemy at Asp for which the king authorised a letter of credit for one hundred forty-four *duplas*; two days later five more horses were tallied as lost, and one hundred *duplas* approved for compensation.²⁵ The Muslim companies, it seems, were aggressively pursuing the war (and booty).

²³ ACA, C., reg. 83, f. 70v–71r (14 August 1290). One of Bartolomeu de Caribode's responsibilities would have been to corroborate alleged losses (such as the deaths of horses) which the king would be expected to cover.

²⁴ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 64r (1 September 1290).

²⁵ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 64v (3 September 1290), edited by Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 191 n. 1, but erroneously cited as f. 64[r] and with the amount of money incorrectly transcribed.

These losses would have occurred on or before 1 September. Asp is approximately 150 km from València, a trip which may have taken a messenger less than two days to cover. A courier on horse may have been able to travel 100 km per day. Mahomet's company on the other hand may have taken some four days to make the journey if some of them were travelling on foot. By way of comparison for rates of travel, see J. Miret i Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I "El Conqueridor"*, (Barcelona 1918), in which that king can be seen to have journeyed almost 100 km in a single day at times, while his entourage seemed to prefer to move at a rate of 30–35 km per day.

On 4 September, the royal treasurer Arnau Sabastida was ordered to pay Abenadalill (or his agent, Abenamies) nine hundred *solidi* in salary for the *jeneti* who had been serving in the area of Calatayud and who were now ordered to rendezvous with Mahomet and make for the zone of Moya, south-west of Teruel, in Castile.²⁶ Given the interval between the king's orders it is rather improbable that Mahomet had gone to Calatayud after leaving Asp—evidently these *jeneti* had been fighting with him on the Jalón frontier before his appointment as chief-*jenet* and had remained there while he had travelled to València. On the same day that Mahomet's *quitatio* was issued a separate receipt for a similar amount was made out to a group of eleven other *jeneti de domo domini regis* who presumably had been working on their own account and now would have fallen under his command.²⁷ On the sixth and eighth of September further compensation payments for lost horses were issued: three hundred *solidi* (each presumably) to Maometo Abenzelum and Jahia Abenalb and six hundred *solidi* for Muze Almontauro.²⁸

An order sent out on the third of September to the municipality of Calatayud and its dependent hamlets to prepare six hundred *fanches* of grain (*annone*) indicates that once the action in Moya had been concluded the Muslim forces were slated to return to the Jalón frontier—this grain was to be disbursed as required to Abenadalill in order to meet the needs of his *familia*.²⁹ This was harvest season, and the request for payment in kind indicates that this levy was to be consumed (presumably as fodder) and did not represent part of his pay or part of those communities' normal taxes. The next day Alphonse made his intentions clear in a letter addressed to the municipal councils of Borja, Calatayud, Daroca and Tarazona and their

²⁶ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 164[167]v (4 September 1290). Here he would presumably join Juan Núñez de Lara, lord of Moya in raiding nearby Cuenca.

²⁷ Also ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 164[167]v (4 September 1290). *Jeneti* were usually paid their salary (*quitatio*) on a monthly basis, which would suggest that these individuals were earning approximately two *solidi*, ten *denarii* per day.

²⁸ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 164[167]v (8 September 1290). Muze Almontauro continued in royal service until at least 1299. In that year he served James II as a "gen[e]t del senyor rey" or "genet regius" in Murcia and Sicily. M. Scarlata, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giacomo II d'Aragona (1291-1327). Riguardanti l'Italia*, (Palermo 1993) pp. 136-7 {128} and 191 {206}.

²⁹ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 177r (3 September 1290). Fanega (Cat.) means "pitchfork," and presumably refers here to a unit of measurement.

dependent villages and all of his subjects in those lands.³⁰ As the war intensified and action on the French frontiers drew troops away from the Jalón, Alphonse probably anticipated that Castilian raiding would increase. Given the nature of the Iberian "society organised for war", *chevauchées* could take place at any time and would not require any organised movement of troops, since municipal militias, made up of subject-soldiers, were able to attack their enemy neighbours at will.³¹ Thus the king advised the town councils that he had despatched his "noble vassal" Mahomet Abenadalill with his household of *jeneti* to their region in order to defend the their towns and "do harm" to his enemies. The Granadan force was to be accompanied by Garcia Sancii de Guorguot (Gorgot?), a member of the royal household, who was bringing a contingent of Christian troops, and Petrus Sancii, the *justicia* of Calatayud, who would presumably be commanding a detachment of local militiamen. Conscious of the autonomy which the municipalities enjoyed and with the close relations they might have with their counterparts across the frontier, the king ordered the local councils to revoke any truces which they might have with Castilian and Navarrese towns.³² Finally they were instructed that whenever Mahomet or his troops returned from raiding enemy lands they were to facilitate the sale of whatever booty which his men brought back, and to see that they were provided with sound counsel and any assistance which they might require.

³⁰ "... sciatis quod Nos mitimus nobilem Mahomet Abdandalil, vassallum nostrum cum familia sua janetorum, et R. Sancii de Calataiube et Garciam Sancii de Guorguot, de domo nostra cum aliquibus Christianorum cum eo, ad ipsas partes pro defendendis locis predictis et inferendam malum inimicis nostris, quare etc. Si aliquis treugis habetis uel tenetis cum Castellanis uel Nauarris ipsi incontinenti easdem redditus...". ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 177r (4 September 1290).

³¹ Lourie characterised medieval Spanish society in this way in her article, "A Society Organised for War: Medieval Spain," *Past and Present* 25, (1966) pp. 54–76 [repr., *Crusade and Colonisation*, Essay I].

³² The municipalities of medieval Iberia acted with impressive autonomy, elaborating policies according to their own agendas (frequently counter to that of their sovereign), much in the same way that noblemen did. Alphonse himself attempted to use this municipal independence to advantage his in the wars with Castile and Navarre. Zurita remarks that in 1290 the king attempted to convince Toledo, Burgos and Zamora to support the pretender Alfonso. Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 404 {IV: CXIX}. The previous year he had despatched an envoy accompanied by local municipal delegations to the north-western frontier in order to secure separate truces with towns in Navarre. ACA, C., reg., 80, f. 89v (6 November 1289).

In the meanwhile, Mahomet's troop continued to pursue the Castilians, loosing five more horses in action, for which Arnau Sabastida was instructed to disburse one hundred and two *duplas*.³³ The royal representative was also notified that the king was releasing three *jeneti* from his service. On their own request, Mohametus Abencinich, Samet Almergi and Mahometus Abencarmon, who are described as members of the king's household (*de domo nostra*), and who were either members of Mahomet's company or of the contingent which had already been serving on the Jalón, were going to head home to Granada. They were to be given a "suitable" amount of money for expenses "up to a certain place," probably Crevillent.³⁴ On 6 September, the first pay order was put through for Mahomet and his personal company since his promotion, for the amount of seven hundred six *duplas* (their salary for the month of August).³⁵

Having departed Moya, the Granadan company headed for Calatayud to link up with the local *justicia* and Garcia Sanci's royal contingent, and began to raid the hinterland of Soria in Castile. The king, however, had other plans, and on the fourteenth of the month, despatched a letter notifying Mahomet and the rest of the troops that they were to make for Teruel, in order to meet him there on the first Monday after the eighteenth of the month.³⁶ Abenadalill probably would have arrived in Calatayud on or before the fifteenth of the month—in order to make the appointment with Alphonse he

³³ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 66v (5 September 1290).

³⁴ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 164[167]r (5 September 1290). No reason was given for their request. Had these individuals arrived and started serving the king before Mohamet's arrival, their normal 'tour of duty' may have been ending.

Crevillent, technically a dependency of Castilian Murcia, was ruled by the native Banu Hudayr and enjoyed an increased autonomy due to political anarchy during the war between Castile and the Crown. The current *ra'is*, Abu 'Abd Allāh, had acted as an agent for Peter III in 1285 when the latter was looking for *jeneti* to defend against the French invasion. P. Guichard, "Un seigneur musulman dans l'Espagne chrétienne: le «ra'is» de Crevillente (1243–1318)", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 9, (1973) pp. 291–2. When one of these mercenaries, Abraham Abenhamema, was returning home in 1286, he was issued a *guidaticum* to take the road "straight to Crevillent" ("exeundo de terra nostra certo tramite usque Creiuileyn"). ACA, C., reg. 66, f. 152v (27 July 1286).

³⁵ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 66v (6 September 1290).

³⁶ "a die lune proxime uentura ad octo dies que erit octauadecima dies mensis [Septembris]". ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 180r (14 September 1290). The eighteenth was a Monday, meaning that Abenadalill would be expected in Teruel on the twenty-fifth.

would have to leave no later than the twenty-third, giving him more or less a week to plunder as much booty and prisoners as he could from the Sorian borderlands. Mahomet and his companies had been riding hard for the last month, and the amount of time which they spent in transit must have cut down on their opportunities to acquire loot. The summons to Teruel, however, was to prove anything but a disappointment. Taking advantage of Sancho's increasing desperation and probably hoping to press for better terms in the peace which the Castilian king seemed so eager to negotiate, Alphonse had planned a major incursion into enemy territory. As the chronicler Zurita recalled:

And the king, who had many warriors gathered in order to invade and make war on Castile, came to Teruel; and they entered [Castile] through the lands of Molina [de Aragón] and overran the counties of Sigüenza and Atienza until they reached Berlanga; and they did much damage in these [places]; and the people returned with a great booty of livestock.³⁷

It was undoubtedly with great satisfaction that, safely back in Barcelona on 28 November, Alphonse authorised Arnau Sabastida to disburse the pay to due to "Abehadalillo, chief of the *jeneti* . . . and his *familia*" for two months (presumably September and October)—a total of 1127 *duplas*. A second order for thirteen thousand *solidi* of Barcelona was ordered for their expenses, and a further 5000 *solidi* were paid "for the salary of certain Arab Muslims".³⁸

In December, after some ten months of service, Mahomet and his troops were ready to go home, presumably having secured the good graces of their own king. Muhammad II, who having now finally managed impose his authority on the whole of this territory, may have felt secure enough to permit the repatriation of formerly troublesome subjects.³⁹ Evidently satisfied, Alphonse "had been pleased

³⁷ Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 406 {IV: CXIX}.

³⁸ "... quod soluat Abenhadalillo capiti jenetorum mille centum viginti septem duplas quos ei debent pro quitacione sua et familia sue duorum mensum, ex alia parte quinque milia solidos pro quitacione quorundam Sarracenorum Alarabum . . ." ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 171[168]v (21 November 1290). The last item is rather puzzling—it may refer to mudéjar soldiers, perhaps from Valencian lands, or to Maghribians.

³⁹ López de Coca, "El período nazari", p. 252.

to grant" their request to "return to their women and their homes". On 21 January 1291, he wrote to the Granadan king thanking him for sending him Abenadalill and his company, who had "served so well and loyally".⁴⁰ On the same day as that letter was composed the king approved the *jenet's* final salary payment.⁴¹ Given the nature of the relationship and of the request which Mahomet had made it is likely that he attended Alphonse personally at Barcelona in order to obtain this permission.⁴²

If the king was disposed to dismiss Abenadalill, it may have been because he felt that his services might not be needed for the present. Pressure was building for a peace settlement between the various Christian parties of the Western Mediterranean. Although he had succeeded in regaining the loyalty of Juan Núñez, Sancho was being worn down, and had been making peace overtures to Alphonse.⁴³ On the other hand, pressure from the Papacy continued, and Charles of Naples (1285–1309) invited him to make a separate peace and abandon his brother James, King of Sicily.⁴⁴ Alphonse resisted, but in February 1291 the Aragonese king, whose realms had also been bearing the weight of Papal interdict since the time of the Sicilian Vespers, signed a treaty with his enemies at Tarascon on the Rhône. In exchange for peace and the re-embrace of the Church, he agreed not to aid Sicily and to undertake a Crusade to the Holy Land.⁴⁵ Then, on 18 June of the same year, as he was preparing in Barcelona amidst great festivity for his marriage to the English princess Eleonor, the young king died suddenly as the consequence of a tumour.⁴⁶ This succession of events brought his brother James,

⁴⁰ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 243r (21 January 1291), edited in Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 193, n. 1. I read "lealment" for Gazulla's "legalment."

⁴¹ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 96[91]r (21 December 1290).

⁴² Indeed, it seems that Mahomet had remained at Alphonse's court in Barcelona since the conclusion of the Teruel expedition.

⁴³ Alphonse and Ferdinand of Castile, Sancho's nephews, had been scoring successes against Castile that year: "they waged war with King Sancho, their uncle, and every day gained territory from him." "menaven la guerra ab lo rei don Xanxo, llur avoncle, e guanyaven tots dies terres sobre ell". R. Muntaner, "Crònica" in *Les quatre grans cròniques*, (Barcelona: 1971) p. 822 {173}.

⁴⁴ Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 406 {IV: CXIX}.

⁴⁵ Early in March, Alphonse despatched a messenger to Muhammad II explaining the terms of the agreement and assuring him that it would not affect their alliance. ACA, C., reg. 73, f. 94r (12 March 1291).

⁴⁶ "a Déu venc de plaer que al senyor rei N'Anfós venc malautia d'una naixença

King of Sicily, to the throne of the Crown of Aragon.⁴⁷ The new king had a much more conciliatory attitude towards Castile, and after a series of negotiations, signed the Treaty of Monteagudo on 29 November, an agreement which bound Sancho to aid the Crown against France, in exchange for which James would support Castile against its Muslim enemies.⁴⁸ This pact, however, did not prevent James from subsequently coming to an understanding with Granada or from negotiating a separate peace with the Marinids.⁴⁹ For his part Muhammad II renewed his own treaty with Castile in 1291, superseding the previous one which had expired the year before.

The reconfiguration of the political scene of the Western Mediterranean over the course of 1291 generated a flurry of diplomatic activity, as envoys criss-crossed the Iberia and the sea between it, the Maghrib and the Appenine peninsula. It was in the context of this diplomatic work that Abenadalill appears once again. Soon after James II came to the throne Mahomet returned to the Crown as the sultan's representative.⁵⁰ It seems that Abenadalill and a certain Abraham Abenhamir had set out from Granada before news of Alphonse's fate had reached the Muslim kingdom. Arriving in Barcelona, where the king had been preparing for his wedding when death struck, they found James now in his place—as the king noted, Muhammad had sent them to Alphonse, but they had reached him.⁵¹ Alphonse's death would have brought the treaty between the two powers, which was essentially a personal agreement between the respective princes, to an end and both Muhammad and James would have been keen to renew it. Hence the two envoys lost no time in laying out the terms and conditions of the former king's treaty, and briefed him regarding Granada's truce with Castile. James was enthu-

que li feu en la cuixa, al raïgal" Muntaner, "Crònica", p. 823 {173}; cf. Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 417 {IV: CXXII}.

⁴⁷ With great reluctance James was obliged to give up the crown of Sicily, which was thereafter, and to his great displeasure, seized by his brother Frederick (1296–1337).

⁴⁸ Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 423 {IV: CXXIV}. The treaty was ratified on 18 December 1291 at Calatayud. Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 429 {IV: CXXVI}.

⁴⁹ ACA., C. reg. 90, f. 18v (29 August 1291).

⁵⁰ Abenadalill may well have made earlier trips to the Crown, but there is no documentary evidence of them.

⁵¹ According to Zurita, James arrived in Barcelona on 16 August, and "stayed there some days" ("llegó a 16 de agosto y detúvose allí algunos días"). Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 420 {IV: CXXIII}.

siastic and sent them back to the *amir*, with assurances that his intention was that there be a “bond of love” between them.⁵²

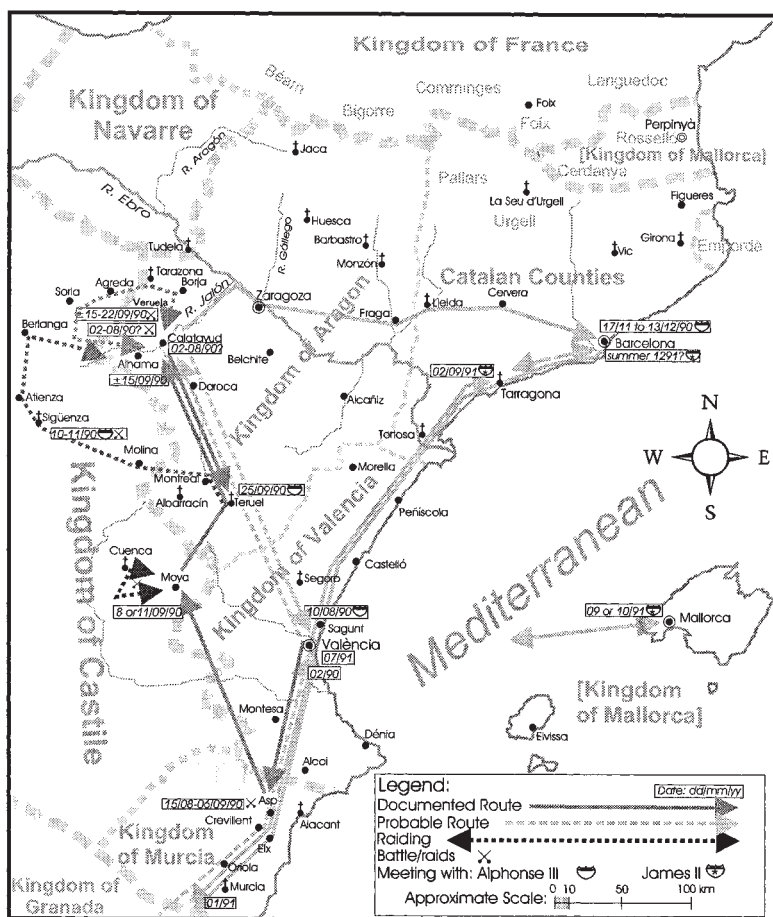
Once back in the court of Muhammad, and having conveyed James’ sentiments, Mahomet returned to the Crown of Aragon, this time in the company of Abraham Abenamies, his former agent.⁵³ On 2 September 1291 at Tarragona James II authorised a *guidaticum* for the two diplomats who had “come to Us at the bidding of the illustrious King of Granada” and, having conveyed whatever proposals which Muhammad had entrusted them with, were now setting out again for Andalusia with his reply.⁵⁴ Within the space of a month Abenadalill had travelled back from Granada with Abenamies and interviewed again with the James, this time at Mallorca. By 17 October, the Aragonese king was ready to enter a truce with Muhammad: the same “good will and love” which the *amīr al-Muslimīn* had shared with his father Peter and his brother Alphonse.⁵⁵ James II

⁵² Magnifico et egregio principi Mahomet Abonaçer regi Granate et Alamir Amuzlamin, Jacobus etc. Magnificencie vestre presentibus intimamus quod Mahometus Abenadalil et Abraham Abenahamir nunciis vestris, olim ad serenum et magnificum principem dominum regem Alfonso, etc. per vos misis, ad nostram celsitudinem peruenerint et nobis exposuerunt omnia et singula tractata et ordinata inter dictum dominum fratrem nostrum et vos super conventionem amoris qui inter ipsum et vos erat, et super tractatu pacis Castelle nec non, et super adiutorio per vos ei et per ipsum vobis faciendo, et cum intentio nostra sit ut amoris conjunctio inter vos et nos prout decens fuerit ordinetur, laudamus et pro bono habemus ut super predictis et aliis que dicti nuncii vobis dicent vestre voluntatis intentionem declaretis, scientes quod predicti vestri nuncii nobis jocalia que dicto domino fratri nostro mitabatis in nostris manibus assignarunt. ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 18v (no date). The text of this document makes it clear that the envoys were making Granada’s first contact with the new king, who had arrived only in mid-August (see the note above). In the chancery register it is dated “ut supra,” and tracing backwards one finds the previous dated document (two folios back) to be marked 1 April 1291, which obviously could not be the correct date for this letter.

⁵³ The Jewish diplomat had made several trips to the Granadan court (now as James II’s ambassador) that year, often ferrying back and repatriating subjects of Muhammad II who had been illegally captured by over-enthusiastic Catalano-aragonese privateers E.g.: ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 3v (8 January 1289), and ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 10r (3 January 1289).

⁵⁴ ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 22v (2 September 1291).

⁵⁵ “buena uoluntad e amor”. ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54r (17 October 1291). This message was sent from Calatayud with the Granadan knight (cauallero) Haçen Atholeitoli (Husayn or Hasan or Hassān al-Tulattuli) but mentions Abenadalill’s earlier visit to Mallorca. Haçen received his *guidaticum* on 19 October 1291, undoubtedly departing for Granada soon after. ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 112r (19 October 1291).



The Itinerary of Mahomet Abenadalill, 1290–1291

made the treaty public a month and half later along with his recently accorded peace with Castile.⁵⁶

After the meeting at Mallorca, Mahomet Abenadalill disappears from the historical record. In the twenty months in which he had served the kings of Aragon he had passed from being a political refugee to an honoured diplomat. The lifetime oath of vassalage which he had sworn to Alphonse (and the offer which had been

⁵⁶ ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54v (1 December 1291).

extended to his son) would have expired with the young king's death. James may have renewed it, but there is no indication that he did. Four years of relative stability followed, and it was not until 1295 that the king began to recruit soldiers in the Muslim south. Among the names of *jeneti* which are recorded in that period neither that of Mahomet Abenadalill nor his son Yusuf appears.

Abenadalill and his Company

Were it not by the sheer chance of a single, undated scribal notation, we would have no personal details regarding Mahomet beyond the Latin corruption of his name and the fact that he had a son named Yusuf. As it happens, a note relating to the envoy Haçen Atholeitoli's trip to James II's court at Calatayud (see above, n. 55) mentions Abenadalill and Abenamies' previous mission to Mallorca in passing, and describes Mahomet as the "cousin" of the Granadan king.⁵⁷ What exactly this qualification corresponded to is not clear: he may have been the literal cousin of Muhammad II, although it is more likely that it indicated that he was a member of the royal family in some larger sense. He may have been a close relative, or a distant relation connected to the king only by the most tenuous and remote bonds of kinship. In any event, the fact that authorities of the Crown recognised that he was a member of the Granadan royal family accounts to some degree for the high prestige which Mahomet enjoyed at the Aragonese court—setting him head and shoulders above and making him the natural leader of the other foreign Muslim soldiers in royal service.

Likewise, relatively plentiful as they may be, the surviving documents reveal almost nothing regarding the composition or character of Abenadalill's company (or *familia*, as it was also referred to), or those of his thirteenth-century Muslim contemporaries. Although North African mercenaries also served in Christian and Muslim Iberia in this period, his discharge letter makes it clear that his men's

⁵⁷ "El senyor rey feu li reposta que li plauria que fos axi et que esperava son ardit de ço que ja li avien dit de sa part don Mahomet Abenadalill cosi seu et Abrahim Abenamies . . .". ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 49v (no date, but ca. 19 October 1291, cf. n. 55, above).

families and homes were in Granada. This said, some may have been members of the Maghribian clans which had come to settle semi-permanently in the Muslim kingdom.⁵⁸ These had taken an increasingly important role in the Granadan army, particularly as Muhammad II endeavoured to establish consistently strong Nazrid rule throughout his realm.⁵⁹ Mahomet and his colleagues may have been described as 'noble', but this would not correspond to the contemporary Christian meaning of the term members of a landed seigniorial military elite. Rather, it would distinguish them as members of the loosely defined and open *khāšša*, an aristocracy based on wealth and prestige in a social system characterised by 'oriental' family structures: endogamous and agnatic with a strong clanic/tribal imprint.⁶⁰ Nor would they have been 'lords' in the contemporary Latin Christian sense—they may have had lands, but they were members of society with a markedly urban configuration and one in which legal jurisdiction was not be delegated 'feudally' to territorial administrators or landlords.⁶¹

Like the government and judiciary, the Granadan army was more centralised and had a more formal structure than that of the Crown of Aragon or Castile, which were decentralised, for the most part unorganised, and to a great extent *ad hoc*. It corresponded to single *dīwān* (or fiscal department), the soldiers were paid in cash, and there was some sort of formal regimentation.⁶² Typical of Islamic society,

⁵⁸ The fourteenth century al-Qalqashandī observed that the Granadan army included many Moroccans. al-Qalqashandī, *Šubh al-aṣa fī kitābāt al-inšāʾ*, (València 1975), p. 92.

⁵⁹ Arié, "Sociedad", pp. 173–74.

⁶⁰ Ideally, Islamic society distinguished only between Muslims and non-Muslims, and freemen and slaves. Aside from the *khāšša* there was another elite, the *ʿulamāʾ*, whose position was based on Islamic erudition and piety. Both of these were distinguished from the *ʿamma*, or masses. The social distinction of slaves versus freemen was also blurry—slaves could occupy positions of responsibility and prestige and there was a strong tradition of using them as soldiers. See Arié, "Sociedad", pp. 174–75 for the use of slaves in the Nazrid army.

⁶¹ The Islamic institution of *iqṭāʿ* in which tribute or rents were allotted by the sultān to individuals in exchange for the provision of troops is conceptually distinct from the feudal *honor* of Christendom. See, generally, C. Cahen's "*Iktāʿ*" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (New Edition & CD-ROM), and for Iberia, see Guichard, "Un seigneur musulman", p. 239.

⁶² R. Arié, "Sociedad y organización guerrera en la Granada Nazrī", in *La Incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla. Actas del symposium conmemorativo del quinto centenario (Granada, 2 al 5 de diciembre de 1991)*, (Granada 1993) p. 173; and his *El Reino Nazrī de Granada*, (Madrid 1992) p. 230; and al-Qalqashandī, *Šubh al-aṣa fī*

it was essentially a 'public' institution as opposed to the 'private' institutions which characterised Latin Christian administration. Although the kings of Aragon at times made requests for direct military aid from Muslim rulers and these may have involved sending a formal detachment of the sultans' forces, Mahomet and his comrades' initiative was a personal one which had apparently been undertaken without the knowledge or permission of Muhammad II. Thus, Mahomet's capacity to gather and command troops and followers would have rested to the greatest degree in familial connections and relations of clientage a function of his membership and level of status among the native elite. Hence his company would have likely consisted of other aristocrats, family members and clients, as well as a number of freemen of varying means and possibly slaves.

The number and composition of Abenadalill's troop can only be guessed at. Contemporary chroniclers are not much help in this respect due to their infamous numerical inaccuracy and penchant for literary effect.⁶³ The requests for military aid of the Aragonese kings to their Muslim counterparts are a better indicator of number. For example, in his letter of 1289 to Muhammad II Alphonse had sought a total of four hundred *jeneti*.⁶⁴ A contemporary Granadan *jenet*, Zahen of Vera, active on the Castilian-Granadan frontier in the early 1280s, was described by a Christian captive as having a company of two to three hundred men.⁶⁵ While Granadan border raids might involve perhaps a thousand fighters (a number intended to overwhelm any local standing defences), these larger hosts would have included the companies of several captains.⁶⁶ Indeed, Ibn Hudayl's

kitābāt al-inšā', 92. The fourteenth-century Ibn Hudayl portrayed the army as having a definite scale of rank and chain of command with standard unit sizes. As Arié suggests ("Sociedad y organización", pp. 176-77) his depiction of the Granadan *jund* was certainly exaggerated, but it belies at least an ideal of regimentation.

⁶³ Zurita politely tut-tuts Muntaner's estimates of the forces at Sancho's and Alphonse's disposal during the *razzia* of 1289 as "cosa casi increíble si juzgamos por el número de la gente de que en nuestros tiempos se hace formado ejército en cualquiera empresa." Zurita, *Anales*, 2, p. 377 {IV: CIX}.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 6. As part of his truce with Tlemcen, James II demanded the service of one hundred *jeneti* to be paid for three months on the Muslim ruler's account. ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54r-54v (17 October 1291)]. Nearly a century later, when Peter the Cruel attacked the Crown, he received aid from Granada in the form of six hundred *jeneti*. See Ferrer, "Frontera", p. 300.

⁶⁵ J. Torres Fontes, "La actividad bélica granadina en la frontera murciana (ss. XIII-XV)", *Príncipe de Viana* 47, (1986) p. 729.

⁶⁶ Torres Fontes, "La actividad bélica", p. 728.

schema of the Nazrid army includes units of two hundred soldiers under the command of single captain.⁶⁷ Abenadalill's per diem had been set at eight *besants*, obviously far higher than the standard rate. If we accept that Mahomet's men were likely paid between four and six *solidi*, as contemporary and later documents suggest, the monthly *quitationes* paid out to him indicate that his troop would have had somewhere in the neighbourhood of one hundred soldiers.⁶⁸

This number would have included both cavalry, their squires (one each), and whatever foot-soldiers he had.⁶⁹ One document relating to Abenadalill confirms that his contingent consisted both of mounted and foot-soldiers (*pedites*), although the proportion of the latter was probably fairly negligible, given the type of warfare which they he was expected to wage on Castile.⁷⁰ Such as it was, the infantry con-

⁶⁷ Arié, "Sociedad", p. 176; Arié, *Reino*, p. 230.

⁶⁸ *Jeneti* were normally paid by the month. In 1282, Mahomet Abolxahe (Abulfahe?) and his sons received four hundred forty-eight *solidi*, which could have been at most 4.9 *solidi* per person per day (less if his sons had been more than two in number). ACA, C., reg. 71, f. 45r (27 April 1282). Four years later Ali Arrexadi and Abraham Abenhamema were paid a quitatio of two hundred thirty-seven *solidi*, making the daily rate to be just under four *solidi*. ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 186r (1 March 1286). In 1363 (by which time prices had likely risen), the Muslim alaminus of Xelva informed Peter IV (1336–87) that he would be able to obtain the services of one thousand *jeneti* at a rate of four *solidi* per day, while the standard rates for Valencian cavalry varied from three to six *solidi* daily. See M.T. Ferrer, "La frontera meridional valenciana durant la guerra amb Castella dita dels dos Peres", in *Pere el Ceremoniós i la seva època*, (Barcelona 1989) pp. 283 and 303. According to Dufourcq, Christian soldiers serving as mercenaries in Muslim lands during Alphonse's reign received three to six *solidi* per day, while those serving in Valencia in 1296 received four *solidi* of that realm. See his "Prix et Niveaux de vie dans les pays catalans et maghribins à la fin du XIII^e et au début du XIV^e siècles", *Le Moyen Âge* 3–4, (1965) pp. 506–8. Abenadalill's *quitatio* for the month of September (above, n. 39) was 13,000 *solidi*; assuming a per diem of 3.5 *solidi* per man this indicates his troop had about one hundred twenty soldiers. The *quitatio* for October and November (above, n. 39) was rated at 1127 *duplas* (approximately 17,000 *solidi*), indicating a company of around eighty men. This reduction can be accounted for by losses in combat and by the departure from the Crown of some of his men (above, ns. 17 and 34).

⁶⁹ Arié notes that Granadan cavalry were accompanied by squires, unlike their Berber counterparts, who rode alone. See Arié, "Sociedad", p. 179, and his *Reino*, p. 231.

⁷⁰ Mahomet's pay order for August 1290 (cited above, n. 35) is followed by a further order "pro quitatione Sarracenorum peditum pro dicto mense". The amount of 32.5 *duplas* (approx. 480 *solidi*) which is stated, however, is extremely low especially given that this sum was also to include recompense for a lost horse (the value of which might be anywhere between 150–250 *solidi*).

tingent undoubtedly consisted of heavy crossbowmen, the Muslims of Valencia and Granada being famed and feared for their exercise of this profession.⁷¹ For increased mobility these *ballesters* would have travelled on horseback, normally dismounting to take up position and fight.⁷² The question of whether the company included camp-followers is an interesting but frustrating one. Like other medieval armies, Muslim forces frequently travelled with their families, moreover there is documentary proof that some contemporary *jeneti* brought their wives (and other family members) to the Crown of Aragon.⁷³ Whether these women accompanied their mercenary husbands into action, however, is another matter—they most likely remained in the security of a town, such as València, while the men were on campaign. The fact that Mahomet's forces were required to move considerable distances in short periods, and the rapid mobility on which *jeneti* tactics depended supports the contention that they travelled in the Crown as a mounted group, without a large baggage train or extended camp.⁷⁴

The horsemen who overwhelmingly composed Mahomet's company would have worn helmets, carried long shields and wielded a heavy iron lance which required a heavy saddle in order to sustain the force of charges—a description corroborated by the artwork of the era. Pictorial representations of Granadan (and Valencian) soldiers of the thirteenth century: the miniatures of the *Cántigas* of Alfonso X, or the popular decorative murals of bellic scenes which adorned the palaces of the Crown, depict Muslims outfitted in basically

⁷¹ During their invasion of Catalonia the French learned to fear the effectiveness of Muslim *ballesters*. During the siege of Girona a Muslim crossbowman was said to have fired a bolt from atop the walls through the window of nearby church, killing the French "count" who he had spied convalescing on a cot inside. B. Desclot "Libre del rei en Pere", in *Les quatre grans cròniques*, p. 571 {163}.

⁷² Two types of bow were current in the late-thirteenth century, the traditional hand-operated model and the heavy "arco franco," a cross-bow armed with the aid of the foot. Both could be fired from horseback, although in the latter case re-arming would obviously have been problematic. See Arié, *Reino*, p. 232. A substantial proportion of the horses which the *jeneti* lost and claimed compensation for were described as *rocini*, or 'work horses,' which may have corresponded to the infantrymen's mounts (as opposed to *equi* which were cavalrymen's mounts).

⁷³ See below. As political exiles, Mahomet and his associates may have taken their immediate families with them to the Crown.

⁷⁴ Royal representatives (like Bartolomeu Caribodes) would have been able to arrange for provisioning on an ad hoc basis by liaising with local officials.

the same manner as their Christian counterparts.⁷⁵ According to al-Qalqashandī, Andalusis eschewed the turban—the turbaned, robe-wearing figures in these paintings correspond to North African soldiers, who favoured lighter armour and weaponry and who began to have an increasing influence in Granada precisely in this period.⁷⁶

Granadan forces were accustomed to carry out raids on the borderlands of Murcia and Castile—rapid attacks designed to damage the enemy before a defence could rally, and in which carrying off livestock, goods and prisoners was the aim. This was reflected in their famous ‘*al-karr wa-farr*’ or ‘attack and flee’ tactic, known by the Christians who eventually adopted it as ‘*torna fuye*’.⁷⁷ After meeting the enemy in battle the Muslim cavalry would effect a false retreat in order to draw out their opponents, who would then pursue them and, soon over-extended, ride into an ambush where the crossbowmen would then attack. In his memoirs James I recalled how at the siege of Peñíscola (1233) the forces of the Archbishop of Narbonne were caught in this manner:

Once the company of the Archbishop of Narbonne was battling the defenders and he did not know the custom of the Muslims, by which the Muslims would flee in order to draw them close to the town . . . And We sent them a message that they shouldn’t pursue them, or else the Muslims would do them great harm. . . .

In the event, in riding to the Archbishop’s rescue the king received a crossbow bolt in the face from which it took him several days to recover.⁷⁸

But Mahomet’s company was not made up exclusively of either Granadans or Muslims. Among the group which travelled with him from Granada or the other *jeneti* who were already in the Alphonse’s

⁷⁵ For the Cántigas see J. Guerrero Lovillo (ed.), *Las cántigas. Estudio arqueológico de sus miniaturas*, (Madrid 1949). Murals of contemporary battle scenes can be found preserved at the Museu de Història de la Ciutat (Barcelona) and the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya (Barcelona) and *in situ* at the Calatravan castle (now the Parador Nacional) of Alcañiz.

⁷⁶ For Berber cavalry armaments see Arié, “Sociedad”, 179 and his *Reino*, p. 233.

⁷⁷ See Arié, “Sociedad”, p. 184 and his *Reino*, p. 235.

⁷⁸ “Altra vegada la companya de l’arquebisbe de Narbona hagueren torneig ab los de dins, e no sabien la costuma dels sarraïns, que los sarraïns los fugien per tal que els poguessen tirar prop de la vila. . . . E enviam-los missatge que no els encalçassen, que si no los sarraïns los farien gran dan . . .”. Jaume I, “Crònica o llibre de feits”, in *Les quatre gran cròniques*, p. 109 {266}.

service when Abenadalill arrived, there were both Christian and Jewish soldiers. Lourie's Jewish *jenet*, Abrafim, had been in the Crown of Aragon since at least June 1289 and it does not seem that he departed until late 1290; thus, he would have come under Abenadalill's command, at least officially.⁷⁹ Christian soldiers, of whom there was a considerable number in Granada, may also have accompanied Mahomet, whether out of some relationship of clientage or purely out of a sense of opportunism.⁸⁰ In any event, once in the Crown, Abenadalill carried out joint operations with royal and local forces, whether accompanying the king himself on campaign or while acting as a privateer. For the many months on which he was stationed on the Jalón frontier raiding Castilian lands at his own discretion, local Christians would have taken the opportunity to enlist to accompany him on raids, integrating themselves temporarily in his company and coming under his command.⁸¹

The Business of War

For Mahomet the object in serving the King of Aragon as a fighter was very simply the accumulation of prestige and wealth, and it is precisely in the latter that his military activity emerges most clearly in the documents. As his band wreaked havoc on the Sorian countryside they would have picked up as much loot and prisoners as they could manage and corralled any herds which they came upon, driving them back into Aragonese territory. As noted, Abenadalill's commission entitled him to take the twenty-per cent tax on the value of these goods which would normally go to the king; the rest would be distributed among himself and his men either based on what they had taken as individuals or according to some scheme for sharing out the rewards. Obviously, they would try to convert these various

⁷⁹ A letter dated 12 July 1289, shows that "Abrafim el genet, Judeum nostrum" had been sent on an errand to Xàtiva by the king in order to clarify certain financial arrangements. He had likely been in Alphonse's service for some time already. ACA, C., reg. 80, f. 8r. For Abrafim's departure from the Crown, see below.

⁸⁰ Arié, "Sociedad", pp. 58–59.

⁸¹ See n. 30, above, and ACA, C., reg. 83, f. 70v–71r, cit. n. 23. The second document refers to "lo noble en Mahomet Abnadalal et ab ses companyes . . . et . . . aquels Crestians qui en aquelles cavalgades foran . . .".

commodities, which were difficult to store and transport, into cash—hence Alphonse's decree to the townsmen of the Jalón region that they should expedite the sale of whatever goods Mahomet and his raiders were to bring back.⁸²

The local population, however, were not always so eager to help. Accustomed as they would have been to cross-border raiding and to all of the misery and opportunity which accompanied it, they also did their best to profit from the situation. They knew that being a foreigner, Mahomet would not be in their town indefinitely, and he was under pressure to sell his booty. It would be difficult to store, and once he had been called away by the king on his next mission, managing and selling these goods would involve considerable trouble. By refusing to buy his plunder they would have hoped to force prices down, by refusing outright to purchase they might lead him to abandon it, or by buying on terms of credit, they might hope to later escape payment altogether. Their resistance may have been flavoured by a sense of solidarity with their Sorian neighbours or a spirit of confessional cohesion versus a Muslim foe, but this could have been little more than a convenient rationalisation. Raids carried out by Christians on that frontier were far more common than those carried out by Muslims, and it was frequently these very townsmen who took up arms to help themselves to their Castilian neighbours' property.⁸³

Hence, on 21 November 1290, Alphonse dictated a letter to Mahomet's former comrade-in-arms, the *justicia* of Calatayud Petrus Sancii, and other local judiciary officials (the *judici* and *jurati*) ordering them to prosecute certain of their townsmen:

Since Mahomet Abenadalill and his company captured and took out of Castilian lands certain booty [consisting] of animals and other goods which belonged to the inhabitants of Soria, and certain people of Calatayud, since they had made an agreement with the said Mahomet on account of the aforesaid booty, were obliged to give him a certain amount of money within a certain range of time under penalty [for non-compliance], which they then refused to pay him, [the officials] should compel those people [to pay] and [confiscate] their goods in

⁸² See above.

⁸³ Indeed, the towns around Calatayud had borne the brunt of Sancho's offensive of late 1289. See ACA, C., reg. 80, f. 84v (23 October 1289) for Castilian attacks on Alhama de Aragón.

order to give Mahomet that sum of money and the aforesaid penalty, permitting no misdoings or evasions.⁸⁴

Certain townsfolk had bought the booty and now hoped to come away clean, in spite of the terms of the contract which they had signed. Abenadalill had probably filed his complaint to the king in person, which may account for Alphonse's insistence that his subjects comply with their contract to the letter, including the penalty for late payment which had been specified.⁸⁵ A subsequent letter, written nearly a month later shows that the local officials (who themselves may have been directly or indirectly implicated in the fraud in question) had still not forced the debtors to pay. Further it reveals that the penalty which had been agreed on in the event that the debt was not paid on "the appointed day" was a substantial 2200 *solidi*. By that date, the king noted, none of the principal amount had yet been given to Abenadalill. The officials were ordered to open proceedings again, now against the debtors' guarantors and to see that the whole amount, principal and penalty were given to Mahomet or the agent of his choosing.⁸⁶

Debt evasion, however, was not the full depth of the affair. Apparently, Mahomet's soldiers had not sold all of their booty by that point, but had left a substantial amount of it stored by unnamed individuals in the hamlets around Calatayud. Taking advantage of the *jenets'* absence, certain villagers decided to help themselves to the loot, carrying off "work-horses, arms [lit.: "shields"], and other goods".⁸⁷ Again, Petrus Sancier was commanded to take action in

⁸⁴ Iusticie, iudicibus et iuratis Calataiubii. Quod cum Mahometus Abenadalill cum familia sua cepisset et traxasset [sic] de partibus Castelle quandam predam animalium et aliarum rerum que erant hominibus de Soria, et aliqui de Calataiube, quia composuerunt cum dicto Machometo ratione dicte prede, obligaverunt se daturos eidem certam peccunie quantitatem certo termino cum pena et quam eidem solvere contradicunt, compellarent illos et bona eorum ad dandum eidem Mahometo ipsam peccunie quantitatem et penam predictam maliciis et diffugiis non admissis. Datum Barchinone IX kalendas Decembris P. Marquesii. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 214v (21 November 1291).

⁸⁵ Mahomet's pay order for the previous two months, which he may have claimed in person, was put through on the same day (see above, n. 39). In the thirteenth-century Crown of Aragon, debtors often received reductions, dispensations and moratoriums even when they were clearly in violation of credit agreements. In this case the king insisted on full compliance, anything else may have been an embarrassment in front of a foreign visitor.

⁸⁶ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 243v-244r (13 December 1290).

⁸⁷ "... quod cum aliqui jenetis de familia Mahometi Abenadalilli tenent in aliquibus

order to recover the stolen property and return it to its Muslim owners, prosecuting the guilty “as ought to be done by law” without awaiting any further instructions from the king.⁸⁸ In other words, offending parties were to be prosecuted, no matter who they were—Alphonse was angry. The king’s displeasure is evident in the attention he gave to the case—a further letter ordered Petrus to act “such that [Abenadalill] would quickly receive satisfaction” from the him.⁸⁹ In case Petrus were to hesitate, a letter was also sent to Johannes Çapata, the *justicia Aragonie* (the kingdom’s highest judicial official), ordering him to proceed with the confiscation of the guarantors’ properties in order to satisfy their debts to his Muslim vassal.⁹⁰ Finally, in order to ensure that these seizures were effected, the king also copied the letter of confiscation to the *justicia* of Valencia, so that this official could impound any of properties of the debtors which they happened to have in that kingdom.⁹¹

Of course the plunder which Abenadalill and his company carried back from Castile included prisoners, and these were dispensed with in much the same manner as any other booty. Sorian prisoners arranged for their liberty through local intermediaries, who would pose as guarantors so that the captives could return to their lands and subsequently raise money for their for their ransoms:

We understand that when Mahomet Abenadalill overran the region of Soria he captured in the said region of Soria certain prisoners, and these redeemed themselves for a certain amount of money, and that

aldeis de Calataiube cum magna preda, aliqui homines de dictis aldeis ravaverunt dictis jenetis sive furto surriperunt quosdam rocinos, adargas, et alias res . . .”. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 234[new number]r (13 December 1290). This document is edited partially in Gazulla, “Las campañas de zenetes”, p. 191, n. 2, but with the date cited incorrectly as ‘idus Octobris,’ rather than ‘idus Decembris,’ and ‘essent’ for ‘tenent.’

⁸⁸ “. . . prout de iure et foro fuerint faciendum non expectando a nobis super hoc alio mandamiento”. From the previously cited document.

⁸⁹ “. . . taliter quod vobiscum inveniatur iusticiam breuiter de predictis”. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 234[235]v (13 December 1290).

⁹⁰ Super predictis fuit scriptum Johanne Çapata, iusticie Aragonie, quod faciat per iusticiam Calataiubii, per modum pignoris uel alium modum, contra predictos fideiussores ad soluendum dicto Abenadalillo quantitatem quam sibi dare promiserunt pro redemptione dictorum Christianorum et dictos duos millia solidos pro penam predictam et missionem iuste facere rationi predictae. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 234[235]v (13 December 1290).

⁹¹ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 243v (13 December 1290), partly edited in Gazulla, “Las campañas de zenetes”, p. 192, n. 2.

they provided certain inhabitants of the said place of Calatayud as guarantors to the said Abenadalill, promising to pay him that redemption by a certain day . . .⁹²

Alphonse may have been particularly interested in expediting such transactions, given that the presence of Christian prisoners of Muslim soldiers might have aroused the indignation of the local clergy and populace. The fact that it was against Canon law for Muslims to take Christian prisoners does not seem to have been a concern.⁹³ At the same time that he was trying to sort out the matter of Abenadalill's plunder Alphonse also tried to make sure that his Muslim vassal would get paid for the prisoners he had taken. When Mahomet left Calatayud he appears to have entrusted the contracts of redemption which he had received from local townsfolk for his Sorian prisoners to Bartolomeu Caribodes, his royal liaison officer. On 13 December 1290, Alphonse wrote to Bartolomeu warning him not to release those letters to any party until such a time as the ransoms which had been promised to Abenadalill had been paid. In the case of these redemptions a late-payment penalty of 2000 *solidi* had been prescribed.⁹⁴

The king's determination to resolve the situation of the booty in December 1290 was undoubtedly related to the fact that Mahomet was about to return home. If Alphonse expected him to return in the future to fight (as their agreement of vassalship stipulated) he would have to see to it that Abenadalill received what he was due from the previous campaign. Indeed, Mahomet likely carried the confiscation order written to the *justicia* of Valencia himself when he left the royal court in Barcelona and headed home via that city. Once Mahomet had showed the *justicia* "public instruments or other legitimate documents" relating to his claim, the official was to confiscate

⁹² "Intelleximus quod cum Mahometus Abenadalill cucurrisset in campum de Soria cepit in dicto campo de Soria aliquos captivos, et quod redimerunt se pro quantum quantitate pecunie et dederunt aliquos homines dicti loci de Calataiube pro fideiussoribus dicto Abenadalillo promitendo eidem dare et solvere ad diem certum redempcionem . . .". Document cited above, n. 92; cf. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 243v-244r (13 December 1290), cited above, n. 87. This type of exchange, which worked to the benefit both of the Castilian and Aragonese townsmen, is one aspect of the regular commercial ties between municipalities on both sides of the frontier.

⁹³ See A. Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici*, (Leipzig 1881) p. 223, Lateran III (1179) {26}.

⁹⁴ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 236v (1 December 1290).

“immediately any goods of the inhabitants of Calatayud which you are able to find in the city of València or elsewhere” in order to satisfy fully the amount owed to the *jenet*.⁹⁵

As it happens, the townsmen of Calatayud weren't the only ones to take advantage of Mahomet's circumstances in order to make some money on the side. A certain soldier named Puçola also tried to bilk the Muslim captain. Puçola was one of the fighters who accompanied and, hence, served under Mahomet in his Sorian *chevauchées*. Once the raiding had concluded, he evidently refused to pay Abenadalill the royal *quinta* on the booty which he had picked up.⁹⁶ While at the royal court in Barcelona, Abenadalill complained of this oversight and the king duly informed Petrus Sancii to look into the matter:

Whereby We order you that, if this is so, you are to satisfy the said Mahomet Abenadalill or whoever he wishes [in his place] out of [the sale of] the goods of the said Puçola, for the said amount of money which the said Puçola owes him for the aforesaid reason, such that the said Abenadalill will have no cause to complain regarding any lack of action on your part.⁹⁷

There is no documentary evidence as to whether or not this debt was eventually collected, but presumably the order to the *justicia* of Valencia to seize the goods of Mahomet's debtors may also have applied here. In the event that no action was taken, Mahomet might have derived some small satisfaction from the fact that Puçola, who had tried to hold out on his debts, had been murdered in the interim.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ “publica instrumenta vel alia documenta legitima . . . incontinenti res et bona hominum Calataiube quae in civitate Valencie vel aliubi poteritis invenire . . .”.

⁹⁶ Like Mahomet, Puçola also seems to have been a captain of sorts. In 1289, he and “his associates” (*sociis suis*) had been fighting on the Navarrese frontier for the king. ACA, C., reg. 80, f. 104v (15 November 1289). Puçola's identity is difficult to establish. He is not referred to as a “jenet” or as a Muslim (“Sarracenus”) or Jew. His rather odd name never appears with either a patronymic or an indicator of lineage suggesting that if, he was likely a foreign Christian who used Puçola, or “Big Flea,” as a *nom de guerre*.

⁹⁷ “. . . quare vobis mandamus quatinus, si esset ita, de bonis dicti Puçole satisfaciatis et satisfieri faciatis dicto Mahometo Abenadalill, vel cui voluerit, in dicta quantitate peccunie quam ei debebat dictus Puçola ratione predicta, taliter quod dictus abenadalillus de vobis pro defectum iusticie non habeat materiam conquerendi”. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 234[new number]r (13 December 1290).

⁹⁸ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 237v[238v] (13 December 1290). Puçola was murdered

Abenadalill would have taken less solace from the fact that he was not the only *jenet* to encounter such a situation. Nor was this the only case in which the king intervened. In 1290 Abrafim the Jewish *jenet* experienced problems collecting money which Alphonse had granted him for a horse.⁹⁹ But he seems also to have had a number of personal creditors. In December 1290 when, like Abenadalill, he was probably leaving the Crown, the king gave him permission to collect any debts owed to him by Christians, Muslims and Jews. He was empowered to do so whether or not he had the documentation to back up his claims—indicating both that he was in a hurry to receive his money and that he had probably already had problems in collecting.¹⁰⁰ In another case, early in 1290 Mosse Maymono, a Jew of València, had managed to bilk two *jeneti* out of their pay receipts and was commanded by the king to give them their money.¹⁰¹ Unfamiliar with the language and local customs and accounting procedures, foreign mercenaries were undoubtedly seen as easy prey by con-men and opportunists.

In the years preceding Mahomet's arrival in the Crown of Aragon other *jeneti* had been extended the same privilege of sale of booty and had encountered the same problems with buyers and creditors. In 1287, for example, Alphonse ordered all of the officials in his realms to allow *jeneti* to sell freely whatever livestock they had captured on a raid.¹⁰² In an episode apparently relating to the same operation, a local officials were reprimanded for confiscating a (presumably) Christian prisoner from certain Muslim mercenaries, and was ordered to return him without delay.¹⁰³ The previous year, the

in Calatayud allegedly by Pascasius Valentinum, Vicencius de Sayona "and other accomplices" (et aliis sociis eorum) for motives unknown.

⁹⁹ See Lourie, "Jewish Mercenary", p. 389.

¹⁰⁰ "Iusticie et baiulo Valentie. Quod compellant omnes illos, tam Christianos, Judeos quam Sarracenos, qui debeant aliquid Abrafimo el jenet, tam cum carta quam sine carta, ad solvendum illud sibi vel ad faciendum, etc. Datum Barchinone VIII idus Decembris". ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 226r (13 December 1290).

¹⁰¹ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 63r (7 March 1290).

¹⁰² ACA, C., reg. 74, f. 5r (14 October 1287). The raid in question had been against Longares in Aragon (an operation carried out against Unionist forces). By allowing them to sell their booty 'freely' (libere) the king was exempting them from the various taxes placed on the movement and sale of livestock.

¹⁰³ The king took the opportunity to remind the justicia and jurati of Calatayud that they were to collect the royal quinta assessed on whatever ransom the prisoner in question eventually paid to the *jeneti*. "Intelleximus quod vos abstulistis janetis [sic] nostris quemdam hominem de Cutanda quem ceperunt in presenti

king commanded his Jewish *baiulus* of Aragon, Muça de Portella, to pay two hundred *solidi* to a *jenet* named Abduhet, forty of which were in compensation for goods (probably booty) which Conradus Lactreer had stolen ("extorsit") from him.¹⁰⁴ Not surprisingly, Muslims were not the only ones who encountered difficulties in ransoming their prisoners, nor were they always the injured parties in such financial disputes.¹⁰⁵

Court, Society and the Foreign Infidel

The financial activity associated with selling booty and ransoming slaves was only one aspect of the interaction which Muslim mercenaries enjoyed with the subjects of the Crown. The presence of Muslim, Christian and Jewish soldiers in mixed companies would have led to contact and communication; armed struggle and the mutual dependence on which it depends has the potential to generate personal intimacy which can override, at least temporarily, normal social barriers. In any case, as members of a military aristocracy (or, rather, of parallel military *aristocracies*) Muslim and Jewish *jeneti* and Christian *cavallers* shared in a common identity which helped to offset their confessional differences. Since the time of the Muslim conquest and the Treaty of Theodomir through the era of the Cid and on to the defection of the Valencian king Abū Zayd, religious differences do not seemed to have posed the slightest impediment to members of the upper-classes of either faith who saw it in their interests to interact with the 'infidel'.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the higher one climbed

guerra, quare volumus ac vobis mandamus quatenus, si vobis constiterit quod dictus homo sit de aliquo inimico nostro, ipsum restituatis dictis janetis incontinenti, isti vero tenetur nobis dare quintam de eo quod dabuerent pro redemptione hominis supradicti. In Epila, II idus Octobris". ACA, C., reg. 74, f. 5r (14 October 1287).

¹⁰⁴ ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 125r (29 March 1286).

¹⁰⁵ Vicencius Sayona (one of Puçola's murderers, see above) had trouble recuperating money he had put up for the liberation of a prisoner. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 234v[235v] (14 December 1290). In 1282, three *jeneti* who had been in royal service (Mahomat Abulhaye [likely 'Abulfahe,' cf. p. 50], Mañcor Abemmudaffer and Abraham Abehmema, undoubtedly 'Abenhamema', (cf. ns. 34, 69 and 127) left Petrus Brandi of Valencia on the hook for debts totalling 630 solidi (which Peter III made good on). ACA, C., reg. 52, f. 68v (4 November 1282).

¹⁰⁶ The Visigothic lord Theodomir of Murcia, surrendered to the Muslim invader 'Abd al-Azīz b. Musā b. Nusayr in 713, continuing to rule as "Tudmīr". See al-Himyarī, *La péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge d'après le Kitāb ar-rawd al-mi'tār fī ḥabar*

in noble circles, the rarer the air of confessional identity seems to have become.¹⁰⁷ Hence, the terms of formal endearment which Muslim and Christian potentates unabashedly used to refer to each other in their diplomatic correspondence.

For Alphonse and other Aragonese rulers, the Muslim king of Granada was no vulgar *Sarracenus* or *inimicus fidei*, but was addressed with respect as “your nobleness”, or “very noble and honoured” and of whom “good will and love” was desired.¹⁰⁸ One letter of James began with the salutation “To the magnificent and honourable prince, Muhammad Abu Nāsr, King of Granada and Commander of the Muslims, We James, etc., communicate to your Magnificence. . .”.¹⁰⁹ Such honorifics were not mere showpieces designed to placate the Muslim ruler, as he was referred to in no less respectful terms, such as “the illustrious King of Granada” in third-party correspondence.¹¹⁰ Nor were such salutations formulaic, they resemble each other because they reflect contemporary expectations regarding the manner in which prestigious individuals should be addressed. Muhammad II was regarded by the Christian sovereigns as a member of a wider club which included the “the very noble and very honourable king of Tlemcen” as much as “the very noble and very high king, don Sancho [of Castile]”.¹¹¹ The depth of the kings’ mutual identification

al-akbār d’ibn ‘Abd al-Mun’im al-Himyarī, (Leiden 1938), pp. 78 (62–63). In the early-twelfth century Sayf al-Dawla the exiled Hudid heir to Zaragoza, became “rex Zafadola,” the vassal of Alfonso VII of Castile. *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*, (Madrid 1950) p. 55 {70}. Abu Zayd, the last ruler of Muslim Valencia, abandoned his kingdom to become a vassal of James I and a Christian. See Zurita, *Anales*, 1, pp. 505–6 {25}.

¹⁰⁷ An emblematic episode of inter-confessional aristocratic entente is that of the wedding of Sancha of Castile to Berenguer Ramon of Barcelona in 1016, an event hosted by Al-Mundhir of Zaragoza and attended by the Muslim and Christian nobility of the Pyrenees. See Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, (Paris 1930) III, pp. 176–7.

¹⁰⁸ “la vostra noblesa”. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 243r (cit. above, n. 41); “molt noble et honrado”, “la buena voluntad e amor”. ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54r (cit. above, n. 56).

¹⁰⁹ “Magnifico et egregio principi Mahomet Abonaçer, regi Granate et almir amuzlamin, Jacobus, etc. Magnificencie vestre intimamus . . .”. ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 18v (1 April 1292).

¹¹⁰ “illustis regis Granate”; see for example ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54v (1 December 1291), and ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 112r (19 October 1291).

¹¹¹ “molt noble e molt honrat rey de Trimiçe”, ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54r–54v (17 October 1291); “el muy noble et mucho alto rey don Sancho”, ACA, C., reg. 55, f. 54v (1 December 1291).

as members of a legitimate political elite is revealed in the salutation with which Alphonse commenced a letter to Muhammad II in 1290: "To the very noble and honoured Abu 'Abd Allāh ibn Nāsr, *by the grace of God* King of Granada, from Us, lord Alphonse, *by that same grace* King of Aragon . . .".¹¹² Obviously lower class Muslims (as much as lower class Christians) might be the object of derision, but the elites felt a bond which transgressed sectarian and cultural divisions, and as fellow nobility, Mahomet Abenadalill and other aristocratic *jeneti* shared in this identification as well.¹¹³

In this light, the fact that Muslim and Jewish mercenaries were not required to adhere to the vestuary laws which governed other, lowlier members of their faiths reflects an admission that these individuals were above such laws, rather than a dispensation from a restriction to which they should in principle have been subject.¹¹⁴ Just as he did for his Christian retainers, Alphonse rewarded his favourite *jeneti* with expensive clothing as both a recognition of good service and a sign of respect. Cloth of the colour red was particularly valued, both in Catalan circles and among Granadans.¹¹⁵ From the time of the French invasion of 1285 through to Mahomet's time, Alphonse authorised the gifts to Muslim mercenaries which included *aljубas*, capes of red or other coloured cloth, and shoes (sometimes specified as "Narbonnese").¹¹⁶ High-quality harness and tack was

¹¹² "Al muyt noble et honrado Abuabdale Abennazir, per la gracia de Dios rey de Granada, de nos, don Alfonso, per aquela misma gracia, rey d[']Aragon . . .". ACA, C., reg., 73, f. 87r-v (cit. above, n. 17).

¹¹³ Hames' observations regarding the contemporary courtier-cum-missionary Ramon Llull reflect the same ambivalent attitude. Llull clearly considered learned Muslims to be a class above the general population, and to some extent he felt shared in a common culture with them by grace of their literacy, education and intellectual capacity. See H. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century*, (Leiden 2000) p. 89.

¹¹⁴ Lourie, "Jewish Mercenary", p. 368.

¹¹⁵ Arié, *Reino*, p. 231 notes that red capes came into style among Granadan soldiers in the late-thirteenth century, a fashion they picked up from their Christian neighbours. Red was the most popular colour among Christian nobility and royalty of the peninsula for ceremonies and other grand occasions. In his *Ordinacions*, Peter IV, specified that the royal robes should be of red and gold for coronations. See J. García de Cortázar, "Las necesidades ineludibles: alimentación, vestido, vivienda", in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, (Madrid 1994) XVI, p. 41; and Pere el Cerimoniós, "Ordinacions", in P. de Bofarull (ed.), *Colección de documentos inéditos de la Corona de Aragón*, (Barcelona 1850) V, p. 272.

¹¹⁶ ACA, C., reg. 52, f. 83v (26 December 1282) [various]; ACA, C., reg. 58, f. 22v-23r (2-4 May 1285) [various], including a gift to the Jewish physician "fideli

another favourite gift, and one worthy of a member of the equestrian class; at least one *jenet* was presented with a "suitable horse" (*unum equum idoneum*) by royal grace.¹¹⁷ Such gifts were not an attempt to pawn off these Muslims with baubles—similar largesse was also shown towards high-status Christians and Jews. Rather, they were universal tokens of honour and esteem recognised and valued by members of all faiths.

Even when they were not on active service *jeneti* spent extended periods in Christian milieus, which would have provided a further source of social contact. Abenadalill (undoubtedly accompanied by his most important subordinates) seems to have spent more than a month at a time in Alphonse's court in late 1290, during which period Abrafim, the Jewish *jenet*, was also in attendance. During their stay these foreign nobles undoubtedly participated in the normal ceremonial as members of the royal household, enjoying the honour which such a role implied and adding to the prestige of the sovereign by their exotic presence in his entourage.¹¹⁸ Muslim mercenaries' military vocation undoubtedly provided common ground for interaction with Christian courtiers.¹¹⁹ Indeed, before embarking on the campaigns of autumn 1290, Mahomet seems to have participated in a tournament in València city—a royal letter authorises compensation for a horse which was killed in such a contest.¹²⁰

nostro Samueli, regis Castelle medico" and to the Christian "Michaeli Emoequers, militi". The *aljuba* was a knee-length tunic of Andalusí provenance (from the Arabic *al-jubba*), and which was also worn by Christians. See Alcóver, *Diccionari*, s.v. "aljuba."

¹¹⁷ See ACA, C., reg. 79, f. 79v (27 January 1289).

¹¹⁸ For the role of *exotica* in the medieval court, see N. Silleras Fernández, "Nigra sum sed formosa: Black Slaves and Exotica in the Court of Maria de Luna (1396–1406)", *Medieval Encounters*, [forthcoming].

¹¹⁹ The autobiography of the twelfth-century Syrian aristocrat Usāma ibn Munqidh illuminates the ambivalent attitudes which members of Christian and Muslim military elites of the Middle Ages shared. Although Usāma was ever-conscious of the confessional/cultural gulf which separated him from his Frankish counterparts, this was hardly the determinant in his attitudes towards them as individuals, which he regarded with respect, understanding, incomprehension, or disdain according to circumstance. See P. Hitti (trans.), *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, (Princeton 1987) *passim*.

¹²⁰ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 66v (4 September 1290). Another *jenet*, Gaylanus, was given 500 solidi for wounds which may have been the result of a tournament ("que nuper sibi fecerunt qui ludebant ad genetiam"). ACA, C., reg. 82 f. 163v/168v (23 August 1290).

But the most intriguing aspect of Mahomet's life at Alphonse's court is that of his investiture as a vassal of the king. This act—of which we have no information aside from the letter of appointment—must have been attended by some sort of ceremony, one which must have somehow struck the correct note of pomp and propriety while avoiding the Christian references and rituals which were so much a part of the model for contemporary chivalrous relationships.¹²¹ But such compromises of ritual were very much in the tradition of the Crown of Aragon, where Muslims and Jews entered contracts with Christians, became vassals of Christian Military Orders and religious houses, and even participated in trade-based confraternities.¹²² The final proof of the esteem which Mahomet enjoyed at the royal court of Barcelona and the degree of his integration was a parting gift which James II presented him with in September 1291, when the former vassal returned to the Crown as an envoy of Muhammad II. When Abenadalill left for Granada, James wrote to his falconer in València and ordered him to present as a gift to the Muslim envoy four of the nine falcons which the king was keeping there.¹²³ This was no mere gesture: falcons were prized possessions of the warrior and hunting class, and were exchanged both as tokens of the highest honour and respect and as gifts of a decidedly practical value.¹²⁴

In addition to the professional contact which Muslim *jeneti* enjoyed at the royal court, they also participated in the wider society of the

¹²¹ The ceremony attached to knighthood was permeated with Christian symbolism. Although Mahomet would not have been made a knight by Alphonse, whatever ceremony was involved in taking him on as a vassal would have had some religious component, even if nothing more than a swearing of oaths.

¹²² Aragonese law made careful provisions for the swearing of oaths among members of the three faiths which would be recognised as legitimate and binding by all parties.

¹²³ ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 22v (27 August 1291).

¹²⁴ Usāma ibn Munqidh recalled how in the course of a diplomatic mission to the court of Fulk of Anjou at Acre, the Frankish king made a present of a two falcons to the Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar, the ruler of Damascus, at the latter's request. See Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 226. In 1302, James ordered four falcons to be given to Bernat de Sarrià (Bernardo Serriano), who would journey to Morocco and present them to Abu Ya'qub (1286–1307) as a gift. C. Dufourcq, "Nouveaux documents sur la politique africaine de la Couronne d'Aragon", *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 26, (1953) p. 302. Falcons continued to be a favourite gift of among the kings of the peninsula. In 1400, Martín I (1396–1410) excused himself to the king of Navarre for not having presented him with any falcons on the basis that he had given his best birds to the king of Castile. See D. Girona Llagostera, *Itinerari del rey En Martí, 1396–1410*, (Barcelona 1916) p. 77 {47}.

Crown both as individuals and as a consequence of the presence of non-combatant family members in Christian territories. The contemporary word 'familia' could mean either 'family' in the socio-biological sense or in the sense of a 'household' which included one's subordinates, whether they were related or not, and both meanings of the word were used in reference to *jeneti*. Documents which refer to the payment of Abenadalill "and his family" (*et familia sue*) for services rendered fall into the second category.¹²⁵ Although some *jeneti* evidently left their wives and relatives behind in Granada (see above, p. 15), others brought them along.¹²⁶ This is entirely fitting with the fact that some mercenaries were refugees who had fled discontented sovereigns or hostile regimes, or that they hoped to remain in Aragonese service permanently or on a long-term basis. Such was the case of the Almohad princes who, fleeing the Marinid conquest of Morocco, took refuge in Valencia with their wives and families.¹²⁷

What did these women do? It is unlikely that they accompanied their husbands as camp-followers; the *jeneti* depended on rapid movement and could count on local support for provisioning while in friendly territory and plunder while in enemy lands. The few notices that survive indicate that they stayed in València city (or some other town) where, among other things, they would have engaged in their own affairs, possibly including commercial ventures.¹²⁸ Staying in València would have given *jeneti* families access to the familiar environment of a Muslim community, although it is worthy of note that they seem to have been allowed to live in the city proper. This was not a privilege extended to local Muslims, and is further proof that as one climbed the social scale, marks of ethno-religious distinction became less relevant.¹²⁹ Analogous to local noblewomen, the wives

¹²⁵ See ns. 35 and 39, above, cf. ACA, C., reg. 58, f. 22r (4 May 1285), edited in Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 180, n. 3.

¹²⁶ Abraham Abenhamema brought his wife (see above, n. 34), as did Muça Abenbeyet, Açe Parrello and Yoniç. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 52r (6 March 1289), edited by Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 193, n. 3.

¹²⁷ For the Almohads see Lourie, "Anatomy", p. 370, n. 15, and Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", pp. 179–180. In March 1286, the "filiis Miramamunini" received payment of 6430 *solidi* (apparently for three months' service). ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 186v (7 March 1286). At one point Alphonse attempted to place one of these exiled princes, Ibn Abī Dabbās, on the throne of Tunis. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (CD-ROM), s.v. "Hafsids."

¹²⁸ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 69r (4 September 1290).

¹²⁹ Foreign Muslims and temporary residents do not seem to have been subject

of *jeneti* enjoyed prestige and privilege as a consequence of their husbands' vocation. After he had come to the throne Alphonse saw that the living arrangements of certain *jeneti* wives which had been agreed to by his father, Peter, were honoured.¹³⁰ Other women apparently travelled within the Crown, and acted as their husbands' agents, such as the wife of Abdalla Alenaçaça, who seems to have settled in Jaca while her husband was in royal service.¹³¹

Relations between *jeneti*, their families and local Muslims ran across the whole gamut of human emotions, from love to hatred. Although it is not unreasonable to consider that in many cases there may have been a sort of confessional solidarity and that fact of seeing their correligionists under arms may have engendered pride among local Muslims, this should not be assumed.¹³² The manner in which *mudéjares* and *jeneti* apprehended each other would have been bound in local and personal circumstances—confessional identity is not a guarantee of social solidarity, in fact it is frequently irrelevant. Those *mudéjares* who perceived of themselves as the oppressed victims of Christian occupation may have been resentful of the *jeneti*, who may have been seen as traitorous collaborators.¹³³ The mercenaries, for their part, may have seen the local Muslims as cowards, deserving of domination for having failed to defend themselves against their Christian enemies. Members of the local elite may have felt threatened by the prestige of these foreigners, particularly if the latter behaved towards them in a condescendingly aristocratic manner. In 1286, a *jenet* assaulted the Muslim *alaminus* of València, so relations

to the restriction of living in the *moreia*. See, for example, ACA, C., reg. 40, f. 4r (2 August 1277).

¹³⁰ See ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 38r (1 February 1286); ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 113r (25 March 1286); and ACA, C. reg. 76, f. 19r (23 February 1287). In 1289, Alphonse ordered support payments to be made to the wives of several other *jeneti*. ACA, C., reg. 76, f. 19r (23 March 1289).

¹³¹ At the king's orders a certain *mudéjar*, Ali Amara, had purchased a horse from the *jenet* in question and had paid the money to Abdalla's wife (unnamed in the document). ACA, C., reg. 79, f. 79v (27 January 1289).

¹³² Cf., Lourie, "Anatomy", pp. 73–74. That said, in the Kingdom of Valencia foreign Muslim warriors and *mudéjares* did on occasion demonstrate solidarity in resisting Christian authority.

¹³³ By analogy, the Bedouin Arabs who serve in the IDF inspire little solidarity among the Palestinians, also Arabs and for the most part Muslim. For example, early in 2002, four such soldiers were killed in an attack on a road-block. R. Gee, "Palestinian Attack Kills 4 Israelis, Shatters Relative Calm," *Cox News Bureau*, 10 January 2002.

were obviously not always smooth.¹³⁴ On the other hand relations could be warm, as evidenced by the request (granted by Alphonse) by one of Abenadalill's men for permission to marry a local Muslim woman of Zaragoza late in 1290.¹³⁵

Most likely, relations were ambivalent.¹³⁶ Foreign Muslim mercenaries would have been drawn into the social spheres of the native Islamic population through the adherence to dietary laws, their sharing of the Arabic language, and their practice of a common religion. What is certain is that they would have interacted as individuals, making friends and enemies as personal rather than religious matters dictated. Many *jeneti* may have preferred to do business with *mudéjares* because of the commonality of their language and culture, but there is nothing to indicate, for instance, that it was with Muslim subjects that Abenadalill and his troops had entrusted the storage of their booty, or that the local frictions which Bartolomeu de Caribodes was charged with defusing might not involve *mudéjares* as well as Christians. Indeed, unscrupulous *mudéjares* may have more easily abused the trust of the mercenaries, who would have been unfamiliar with social and business mores in the Crown. On the other hand, there are indications that Muslim mercenaries may have formed enduring ties with their Aragonese and Catalan correligionists, a fact which may account for the occasional interventions of foreign Muslims in the affairs of local *aljamas*.¹³⁷ Some *jeneti* even may have chosen

¹³⁴ ACA, C., reg. 70, f. 31r (18 December 1286).

¹³⁵ "Calmedine Caesarauguste. Intelleximus quod quidam Sarracenus nomine Mahumet Suga[re?]y, militem dilecti nostri Abendallil capitis jenetorum, diligit multum quamdam Sarracenam Caesarauguste, nomine Fatimam filiam Abdullasis, quam vult ducere in uxorem. Quare uobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus faciatis et procuratis cum effectum quod dictus Sarracenus dictam Sarracenam habeat in uxorem". ACA C., reg. 81, f. 215v (20 November 1290), cit. Lourie, "Jewish Mercenary", p. 371. This is a charming document, although we can't be sure of the circumstances of the engagement: Fatima may have been a local girl swept off her feet by a dashing young *jenet* fresh from campaign in Castile, or betrothed under pressure to a brutish warrior flush with loot from his latest adventures. This was not a unique case. A document of 1313 mentions that Ali, the chief *jenet* of Navarre, was married to Nuceta, a *mudéjar* of Huesca. M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns de la Corona Catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV*, (Barcelona 1985) pp. 199–200.

¹³⁶ It is my contention that in Aragon, where Mahomet and his colleagues saw most of their action, local Muslims did not perceive of themselves as a persecuted minority, but rather as established members of the local Christian-dominated society. See "Conclusions: Mudéjar Ethnogenesis", in my *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300*, (Cambridge, forthcoming).

¹³⁷ In the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries foreign Muslims occasionally appear in the context of *mudéjar* affairs, influencing the appointment of

to stay and settle permanently in Aragonese lands.¹³⁸ In the final analysis, however, these men were mercenaries and aristocrats of their age, and as much as was the case for their Christian counterparts, religious affiliation was only one aspect of their sense of identity and was not the prime determinant of their political and personal decisions. Hence, it should come as no surprise to find *jeneti* aiding Alphonse in his conquest of independent Muslim Minorca, or accepting Muslim slaves as gifts from the king in the aftermath of the subjugation of the island's population.¹³⁹

Reconquista and Realpolitik

Brief as his stay in the lands of the Crown were, Mahomet was only one of a series of Muslim mercenaries who served in the forces of the Crown of Aragon, and whose employment neatly illustrates one of the historiographical paradoxes of that era. Historians tempted to analyse the political situation of Iberia or the Western Mediterranean in the thirteenth century predominantly in terms of a grand ecumenical confrontation between Christendom and Islam should be troubled by the activities of 'infidel' mercenaries on both shores of the littoral. Both Muslim and Christian rulers were as prepared to employ such soldiers in order to defend their interests as they were to use ideological arguments to justify their policies. Alphonse's predecessor Peter III had begun his reign faced with a bitter and drawn out Muslim revolt in Valencia which he had inherited from his father and had been supported by Muhammad II, but while *mudéjar* disloyalty in the southern kingdom had provoked the indignation of James I it did not lead Peter to mistrust Muslims *sui generis*—quite to the contrary, he depended in no small measure on Muslim mercenaries for the defence of his realms.¹⁴⁰

officials or carrying out other business. See ACA, C., reg. 19, f. 96v (27 January 1274); J. Mutgé, *L'aljama sarraïna de Lleida a l'edat mitjana*, (Barcelona 1992) p. 214 {29} (1 June 1300); and ACA, C., reg. 199, f. 84r (20 May 1302), cit., Basáñez, *Las morerías aragonesas durante el reinado de Jaime II*, 262 {715}.

¹³⁹ In 1273 Haomar filius Ali Jenet, possibly the son of a *jenet* who had stayed in the Crown, was appointed *alcaydus* of the Muslims of Lleida. Mutgé, *L'aljama sarraïna*, pp. 198–9 {7}.

¹³⁹ ACA, C., reg. 70, f. 49v (13 February 1287).

¹⁴⁰ After Muslims of Valencia had revolted against him, a piqued James I recommended to his heir Peter III, "that you expell all of the Muslims from the

As early as 1282, the king had called on aid from Granada to face the impending French invasion.¹⁴¹ Indeed, according to a hyperbolic Desclot, it was news of the arrival of a force of ten thousand *jeneti* ("deu milia sarraïns genets") that convinced the enemy forces to withdraw.¹⁴² Again, in 1284, Peter despatched his chamberlain Conradus Lancee to the court of the Granadan king to obtain troops.¹⁴³ One of the soldiers who answered the call was a certain Cahit filius Jahit Abenacquam, who had entered into the king's service by early 1285. Cahit is revealed to have come at the king's request, accompanied by his "family" of *jeneti*, but of his adventures in the Crown we know almost nothing. A clutch of royal letters reveal that the king had received Cahit's envoys and had absolved them of a debt of 500 *solidi* which they had somehow incurred, while another of his 'messengers' (Alaçeno, militi Sarraceno, nuncio Cahi [sic] filio Jahit Abenacquam) was granted 200 *solidi* for expenses.¹⁴⁴ Alaçeno and two other *jeneti* also received gifts of coloured cloaks and expensive shoes. Generally, Peter seems to have showed as little compunction against using Muslim troops against his Christian foes as he did in sending his own troops to the aid of his Muslim allies in Tunisia.¹⁴⁵

Alphonse continued this trend, sending *jeneti* into action against the Aragonese nobility during the revolt of the *Uniones*.¹⁴⁶ With the

Kingdom of Valencia, because they were all traitors"—an opinion which Peter obviously did not share. ["... que gitàs tots els moros del dit Regne de València per ço com eren tots traïdors...". Jaume I, "Crònica o llibre de feits", p. 189 {564}.

¹⁴¹ Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 176. In April 1282, Peter ordered Petro Peregrini to pay Mahomet Abolxahe 448 *solidi* for the redemption of his son (who it seems had been taken prisoner). This sum was to be docked from the *jenet's* pay. ACA, C., reg. 71, f. 45r (28 April 1282). See also n. 69, above; also Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 176.

¹⁴² Desclot, "Llibre del rei en Pere", p. 536 {140}.

¹⁴³ On 13 November 1284, one of these mercenaries, Mahomat Abenyaçam, was presented with a mare (*rocinam*) as a gift (*de gratia*). ACA, C., reg. 52, f. 17r. Conradus Lancee ('Lancia' or 'Llança') was a confidant of Peter and served also as his admiral and chancellor in Sicily. See F. Soldevila, *Pere el Gran*, (Barcelona 1995) I, pp. 291–2.

¹⁴⁴ ACA, C., reg. 58, f. 22v–23r (2–4 May 1285). Several entries mention Cahit, one of which is edited by Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 180, n. 3; cit. above, n. 126.

¹⁴⁵ In 1282 prior to being invited to take over Sicily, Peter landed in Tunisia with the intention of ending Hafsîd infighting and maintaining his hegemony over the local princes.

¹⁴⁶ Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 187.

conclusion of that rebellion, the king continued to employ Granadan mercenaries in his conquest of Menorca and his engagements with Castile and France, which is, of course, the context in which Mahomet entered into his service. In the intervening years, other *jeneti* had preceded Abenadalill, and it was likely news of their experiences which prompted him to seek refuge and employment in Aragonese lands. The exiled Almohad princes (above, n. 128) had been in Alphonse's service since 1285, a year before Jahit Abdella, Ali Arrexadi and Abrahim Abenhamema came into the king's employ.¹⁴⁷ Also in 1286 Muça de Portella was ordered to pay the salary of Mahomet Abulfahe "and other *jeneti*".¹⁴⁸ These were followed soon after by Abrafim, the Jewish *jenet*, who seems to have served for the exceptionally long period of three years.¹⁴⁹ Meanwhile other Muslim mercenaries came and went from the Crown accompanied by their troops. In January 1290 a certain Dauet, who was at the command of his own company of soldiers, retired from the king's service.¹⁵⁰ A few months later Moxarif Abenhalbet, leading a company of Christian and Muslim fighters, arrived by way of Castile (possibly as a defector from Sancho's employ) and was commissioned to defend Aragon on the Jalón front.¹⁵¹ In the same period, Mahomet el Viello, who also headed up a mixed troop of Christian and Muslim *jeneti*, received confirmation of his rights to sell goods which he plundered from the king's enemies on

¹⁴⁷ ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 186r (1 March 1286). Jahit and Ali were likely Granadans, and Abrahim certainly was, as we know from his discharge guidaticum issued later that year (see above, n. 34). A number of other *jeneti* were demobilised on the same day, along with many Christian troops. ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 188r (1 March 1286). Further payments to *jeneti* are recorded in May of the same year. ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 149v (23 April 1286).

¹⁴⁸ ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 149v (23 April 1286). The previous month an order to pay Abulfahe 4210 *solidi* had been given to Arnau Sabastida. ACA, C., reg. 65, f. 177v (24 March 1286).

¹⁴⁹ Lourie, "Jewish Mercenary", p. 368. Other references to *jeneti* serving in 1289 include that of the sale of a horse by Abdalla Alenaça (above, n. 131), provisions made for the redemption (from captivity) of Hallon Abenabderrasimen, and replacement horses given to Mossot Canas and Halfo Abderramen. ACA, C., reg. 79, f. 79v (31 January 1289). A certain Abrafim received payment and replacement horses early in the following year, following raids he and his company carried out on Castile. ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 226r (8 January 1290).

¹⁵⁰ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 3 (January 1290), cited by Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 194, n. 1 (NB.: Gazulla cites the year as 1289, according to the Incarnation).

¹⁵¹ ACA, C., reg. 85, f. 21v (14 May 1290), cited in Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 193 (194), n. 3 (NB.: the document is incorrectly cited as f. 27[r]).

the Castilian frontier.¹⁵² Finally, soon after Abenadalill's departure from his service Alphonse recruited another Granadan, "Mahomat fijo de Abulgayri el Arabi", who was to serve him with forty "good and well-outfitted Arab horsemen" (*Alarabes cavalleros buenos e bien guisados*), including his two sons.¹⁵³ Like his predecessor Peter, Alphonse was prepared to trust his own Muslim soldiers despite the fact that he himself suffered the effects of raids by Granadan *jeneti* on his realms—the actions of individuals do not seem to have been transformed into generic judgements regarding their character as a 'people'.¹⁵⁴

Despite the trend towards peaceful diplomacy which characterised the opening of James II's reign, Alphonse's brother and successor soon found himself at odds with both his Castilian and Granadan allies. The death of Sancho IV provided a pretext for James to move against Castilian Murcia, which he invaded in 1296, and over the next few years this provoked a diplomatic realignment, bringing a Castilian-Granadan alliance against an Aragonese-Moroccan entente.¹⁵⁵ In 1303, the episode of Abenadalill was reprised by Alabes Abenraho, a close member of the Moroccan ruling family, the Marinids. Like his Granadan predecessor he became the king's "vassal" and raided Castile (especially the region of Cuenca), provoking the resentment of the local inhabitants and the admiration and friendship of his Christian companions in arms, finally departing James' realms once the king had concluded peace treaties with his peninsular enemies.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 56v (12 March 1289), cited in Gazulla, "Las campañas de zenetes", p. 193 (194), n. 3 (NB.: the document is incorrectly cited as f. 56[r]).

¹⁵³ See Giménez Soler, *La Corona*, pp. 351–2. Mahomet had been recruited by correspondence carried by a certain "Habraym" (probably Abenamies). He and his two sons were to be paid six *solidi* per day (12 *doblas* per month), their best eight men (the non-coms) were to get four per day (8 *doblas* monthly), while the rest of the troop would receive 2.5 *solidi per diem*. In addition they would be provided with a total of 20 *cannas* (approx. 32m) of "good cloth" (*buen panno*) once per year for clothes. Like Abenadalill, Abulgayri would receive the *quinta* and would be compensated for lost horses. His wife and children would be provided with a living allowance while he was in royal service. All of this was contingent on the troops' arrival in València on 20 April, so that they could accompany Alphonse on campaign.

¹⁵⁴ In 1287 Alphonse ordered the Bishop of Tortosa to send ten armed cavalrymen and 10,000 *solidi* in aid of the Kingdom of Valencia, which was under attack by *jeneti*. ACA, C., reg. 70, f. 101r (29 April 1287).

¹⁵⁵ See Dufroucq, *L'Espagne*, 349 ff.

¹⁵⁶ Abenraho's career in the Crown is dealt with in detail by Giménez Soler, *La Corona*, pp. 352–72 and by Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV*:

The diplomatic mechanisms which made alliances between Muslim and Christian principalities possible were sustained not only common interests but also a sense of mutual legitimisation and reinforced by a genuine will to comply on the part of the signatories. Muntaner recalls the mission which Muhammad II sent to Peter in 1282:

And while he was in the Kingdom of Valencia he was met by envoys of the king of Granada (who came to him with great jewels and presents), and who requested a truce on behalf of the king of Granada. And the said lord-king Peter, believing that their proposal was well-timed, granted them a truce of five years . . . Later the said truce was concluded. And thus, the said alliance was cried publicly throughout his lands.¹⁵⁷

Several years later, Alphonse ordered his own truce with Granada proclaimed publicly throughout Mallorca after some of Muhammad's subjects had been unlawfully detained, reminding his subjects not to do any harm to the Muslim king or his lands or subjects.¹⁵⁸ The next day a similar occurrence in València led him to order the public crying of the truce in that city.¹⁵⁹ As a consequence of the pact, even Granadan prisoners escaping from Castile were conveyed back to their home kingdom through diplomatic channels.¹⁶⁰

The mutual confidence which the respective rulers felt regarding these agreements can be seen in the transparency with which diplomatic relations across the ecumenical divide were frequently concluded. For instance, in the last years of Alphonse's reign, as forces converged which would lead him to seek peace with his various Christian enemies, the Aragonese king kept Muhammad appraised of political developments. In August 1290 he assured his Granadan ally that any truce which he arrived at with Sancho of Castile would not prejudice their own agreement.¹⁶¹ Some months later, once the

Cristians i Sarraïns al País Valencià, (Barcelona 1988) and *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer: La governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*, (Barcelona 1990).

¹⁵⁷ "E tantost con ell fo e'l regne de València trobà missatges del rei de Granada (qui li vengueren ab grans joies e grans presents), qui li requeseren treva per part del rei de Granada. E lo dit senyor rei En Pere, pensant que son propòsit havia bon començament, atorgà-los la treva a cinc anys. . . . Mas açò lo feu acordar la dita treva. E així feu crida, per tota sa terra, de la dita treva". Muntaner, "Crònica", p. 702 {41}.

¹⁵⁸ ACA, C., reg. 82, f. 3v (8 January 1290).

¹⁵⁹ ACA, C., reg. 81, f. 10r (9 January 1290).

¹⁶⁰ ACA, C., reg. 90, f. 25v (1 September 1291).

¹⁶¹ ACA, C., reg., 73, f. 87r-v (document cited above, n. 17).

terms for the Treaty of Tarascon had been established, he wrote again to Muhammad explaining that he had agreed to journey to Rome in order to receive the cross from the hands of the Pope and thence to embark on Crusade to the Holy Land.¹⁶² Muslim and Christian princes understood and appreciated each others' limitations. In the course of an indirect *apologia* for Peter's ties with Granada, Muntaner illustrates the atmosphere of mutual confidence which operated as a guarantee even between confessional rivals, recreating with literary licence an audience of Muhammad II and his counsellors. When the latter had suggested that Peter might betray him, the Muslim king rebuked them:

O fools, what can you be thinking? Don't you know that the King of Aragon has a five-year truce with us? So, how can you worry that he will break his promise? Don't be concerned, but know that he is of such a noble heart that he would not, for the whole world, do anything less than keep his promise.¹⁶³

The service of Christian and Muslim soldiers in the armies of their religious rivals is only one aspect of the diplomatic, commercial and political ties which bound the principalities of the Western Mediterranean, which overlay and obscure the whatever ideological or dogmatic gulf which existed between the worlds of Christendom and Islam as such. While the fact that a thirteenth-century chronicler felt the need to defend Peter's alliance with the King of Granada reflects that there was indeed a sense that a moral gap existed between the Islamic and Christian world, this breach tended only to be acknowledged (or called into being) on occasion by parties who had a vested interest in perceiving it. Another contemporary chronicler, recounts how Jean Cholet fulminated against Peter after he had wrested Sicily from Angevin rule. In the course of his long indictment, the Cardinal of Sainte-Cécile catalogued the Aragonese king's

¹⁶² "Item. Nos hinc ad festum Nautatis domini proximum uenturum personaliter sumus ituri ad sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam et recipiemus crucem a manibus summi pontificis, et debemus ire ad partes ultramarinas ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et subsidium Terre Sancte . . ." ACA, C., reg. 73, f. 94r (12 March 1291), discussed in Dufourcq, *L'Espagne*, p. 218.

¹⁶³ "Ah, folla, gent, què havets? ¿No sabets que el rei d'Aragon ha treves ab nós a cinc anys? Doncs ¿cuidàvets que ell nos trencàs ço que nos ha promès? No us ho cuidets, que per cert creegats que ell és tal e de tan alt cor que per tot lo món no vendria menys a res que hagués promès". Muntaner, "Crònica", p. 706 {47}.

affronts to the Church, including his use of *jeneti*: “he has taken up with Muslims in order to destroy Christendom, and tries to defend himself from us with them, since by his own power, which is lacking, he would not be able”.¹⁶⁴ But despite such fulminations against Islam and exhortations to Crusade, in the final analysis the Papacy was merely another interested party. Pope Celestine III’s (1191–98) prohibition against carrying on diplomatic relations with Muslim kingdoms had been a dead letter since its promulgation; even the Curia did not hesitate to make alliances with the infidel when it suited its interests.¹⁶⁵

What then of the *Hispania*’s profligate Church, of the *Reconquista*, Crusade, Saint James *Matamoros* and the centuries of struggle against the “perfidious nation of the Muslims”?¹⁶⁶ These are hardly mirages, but in the political and diplomatic sphere sectarian ideology seems to have occupied a similar role to that which our own ideologies play in the politics of the modern world—they comprise the language by which policies are articulated and justified, rather than causes. This can be observed in a parallel tendency in the twenty-first century to imagine our own transparent “Crusades”, be they the extension of Democracy or Communism or some other ideology or religion, to be the engines of political action. While many people might believe strongly that political decisions are in fact based on such ideological criteria, and while policy makers might present themselves or even genuinely feel themselves to be motivated by such ideals, sophisticated political analysis (from which facile *reduces* to ‘conflicts of civilisations’ are necessarily excluded) would hardly posit them as explanatory causes. In the Middle Ages, the question of the historical relevance of the ideal of ‘*Reconquista*’ comes down to

¹⁶⁴ “. . . ans s’és emprès ab sarraïns per destroit a crestianisme e ab ells se cuida defendre a nós, que ab son poder no poria, que no l’ha . . .”. Desclot, “Llibre del rei en Pere”, p. 328 {146}.

¹⁶⁵ For Celestine see C. Orcástegui, *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña (Versión aragonesa)*, (Zaragoza 1986) p. 78 {33: 97}. At one point Alexander IV (1254–61) intervened in favour of Hafsîd Tunis against the crusading Bishop of Tarragona. See R.I. Burns, “Christian-Muslim Confrontation: The Thirteenth Century Dream of Conversion”, in *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, (Cambridge 1984) p. 82.

¹⁶⁶ The latter phrase (“*Sarracenorum perfidam nacionem*”) is found in a letter from Clement IV (1265–8) to James I, in which the pontiff encourages the king to conquer the Muslim-occupied South of the peninsula. ACA, C., reg. 24, 100r (25 April 1268).

whether the larger colonial ambitions of the Spanish kingdoms were products of such ideology or whether the latter was rather a causally-posterior rationalisation, and to whether the Christian expansion corresponded in any real way to cohesive programme more than a series of historical accidents qualified retrospectively as a movement. In fact, too much of Iberian and Mediterranean history, including the struggle for hegemony within the peninsula and Hispano-Portuguese expansion into Africa and the New World, not to mention the exploits of Mahomet Abenadallil, falls outside of the paradigm of the *Reconquista* to render it of much service as an explanatory concept. King Alphonse had no doubts regarding his own priorities. In May 1290 in a letter to the Master of the Order of the Temple, G. de Bello, he lamented the “evil and destruction perpetrated on the Holy Land by the Enemy of the Faith”, but requested that the Templar help him defeat his own (Christian) enemies at home, rather than be distracted by affairs in the East.¹⁶⁷ Three months earlier, in the original letter of commission which Alphonse issued to Mahomet Abenadalill and his companions, the king assured his new Muslim subjects that he would permit them to stay in his service even once he had won the war against Castile “with the help of God”—with the help of God, indeed, but evidently not without the aid of a few ‘Enemies of the Faith’.¹⁶⁸

Conclusions

In sum, Mahomet Abenadalill’s brief but illustrious career as a vassal of the Aragonese king does not represent an exception, but rather the illustration of a maxim—ideology is the hand-maid of expedience—a historical rule which can be discerned throughout peninsular history from the Count Julian’s legendary launch of the Islamic attack on the Visigothic kingdom through to the use of Moroccan

¹⁶⁷ “malis ac dampnis Terre Sancte illatis per Inimico Fidei”, ACA, C., reg. 73, f. 80v (27 April 1290). ‘G. de Bello’ does not appear in Forey’s list of Provincial Masters. A. Forey, *The Templars in the ‘Corona of Aragón’*, (London 1973) p. 420. The situation in Crusader Palestine was indeed grave; a year earlier Tripoli had been lost, and Acre, the last Latin hold-out on the mainland, was to fall in May 1291.

¹⁶⁸ “quando nos ayamos ganado con la aiuda de Dios”. Documented cited in n. 8.

legions by that modern, self-proclaimed Paladin, Francisco Franco, in his own Crusade against the 'Reds' during Spain's Civil War. Neither Abenadall's culture nor his religion presented a serious impediment for a certain integration in the Aragonese court, and the privileges which he was accorded and the esteem with which he was treated may even indicate a certain affection on the part of the king for his Muslim vassal. But his identity as a Muslim would have imposed limits—to borrow from a modern adage: Alphonse may have liked Mahomet, but he wouldn't have let him marry his daughter. Such was the ambiguity of the position of the Muslim *jeneti* who served the Christian kings of Iberia—"Granadan knights; Muslims, but nevertheless gentlemen"—gentlemen, indeed; but, in spite of this, Muslims.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ "Caballeros granadinos, aunque moros hijosdalgo": Ginés Pérez de Hita (s. XVI), quoted in Lacarra, "Ideales de la vida", p. 313.

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REVISITING THE WAX-PRESS AFFAIR IN MORVEDRE
(1326–27): JEWISH FISCAL POLITICS IN THE
KINGDOM OF VALENCIA

Mark D. Meyerson

In her stimulating 1988 article, “Mafiosi and Malsines: Violence, Fear and Faction in the Jewish *Aljamas* of Valencia in the Fourteenth Century”, Elena Lourie explored how Jews used and abused the *halakhic* sanctions against informing (*malshinut*) on their coreligionists to the Gentile authorities. She showed that the accusation of *malshinut* was a double-edged sword which was wielded not only by communal leaders endeavoring to protect their communities from damaging external interference but also by unscrupulous Jewish “mafiosi” who deployed it to dissuade well-intentioned Jews from complaining about their activities to royal officials. The incomplete records of an investigation that the bailiff general of the kingdom of Valencia conducted in January 1327 into the alleged criminal activities of certain Jews of Morvedre enabled Lourie to give her discussion of the complex problem of informing an interesting twist.¹ According to Lourie, the alleged “mafiosi” in this case—Bonet Avincanes, his father-in-law Gento Asseyo, and his brother-in-law Mossé Asseyo—had gone beyond attempting to “create an illegal monopoly in processing wax” in Morvedre and employing violence to inspire “helpless fear” among the local Jews. They had inhibited their “victims” from laying charges against them, in Christian or even in Jewish courts, by threatening “to inform—*malsinar*—against them if they should dare to seek legal redress”. Hence, as Lourie suggests, Christian enemies of Avincanes and the Asseynos were probably the ones responsible for actually

¹ E. Lourie, “Mafiosi and Malsines: Violence, Fear and Faction in the Jewish *Aljamas* of Valencia in the Fourteenth Century”, in E. Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*, (Aldershot 1990) essay XII, pp. 69–102. The records of the Morvedre investigation, dated 7 January 1327, can be found in the ACA: Real Audiencia, Procesos: Legajo 512/12 and Legajo 506/14. They are expertly transcribed by Lourie in Appendices B and C (pp. 92–102), respectively, of the article.

making accusations against them before the royal court, not their Jewish victims.²

Lourie's treatment of the Morvedre case is accurate in several important respects. Bonet Avincanes was indeed a prickly, occasionally violent character whose business ethics may well have left something to be desired. More importantly, Avincanes and his in-laws *did* threaten to inform on other Jews of the *aljama* of Morvedre to the royal authorities. The Jews who feared their potential informing, however, were not the helpless victims described by Lourie, nor were Avincanes and the Asseyos "mafiosi". Without an intrinsic interest in the history of the Jews of Morvedre, and therefore without the benefit of much additional illuminating documentation, Lourie understandably took most of the charges against Avincanes and the Asseyos at their face-value, thus labeling them "mafiosi". The examination of hitherto unexplored documentation reveals that the accused were in fact ambitious, "middle class" Jews who had dared to challenge the authority of the *aljama*'s ruling elite, and that their putative victims were affluent oligarchs.³ The oligarchs were certainly anxious about the information that Avincanes and the Asseyos might leak to the crown since it concerned a matter which was always of prime interest to the king and of considerable relevance to their own authority in the Jewish community: taxation.⁴ The alleged violence of Avincanes troubled them less; it was part and parcel of a long-term political struggle. The effort of the oligarchs, and their Christian allies, to prevent Avincanes from monopolizing wax-processing in Morvedre was, as will be explained below, the final stage of this conflict within the *aljama* of Morvedre. Its resolution would involve significant electoral and institutional reform.

The wax-press affair in the Jewish quarter (*jueria*) of Morvedre took place after nearly a half-century of the monarchy's grinding taxation of the Valencian Jewish communities, along with all the other *aljamas* of the federated Crown of Aragon. King Pere II (1276–85) had begun to tax the Valencian *aljamas* heavily in the 1280s, partly

² Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", pp. 85–88.

³ I examined this documentation while conducting research for a much larger study, *On An Iberian Frontier: The Jews of Morvedre, 1248–1492*, (forthcoming).

⁴ The Morvedre case thus bears much resemblance to another case treated by Lourie herself in "Mafiosi and Malsines", that of Jucef Alatronay of the *aljama* of Valencia (pp. 81–85).

in order to handle the expenses stemming from his taking of Sicily. His sons Alfons II (1285–91) and Jaume II (1291–1327) followed his example. In the 1320s the Jews of the kingdom of Valencia bore a crushing tax burden; the sums which they and their coreligionists in other crown lands rendered subsidized King Jaume's purchase of the Catalan county of Urgell in 1321 and his conquest of Sardinia in 1323–24.⁵

The political and economic life of the Jews of Morvedre, just like that of most other Jewish communities, was therefore organized to a great extent around the necessary production of fiscal revenue for the crown. Power in the Jewish community inhered in the manipulation and amassing of monetary resources. The major taxpayers won social respect, prestige, and posts in communal government. By the early fourteenth century there had emerged in the *aljama* of Morvedre an oligarchy of affluent moneylending and tax-farming families: the Passarells, the Coffes, the Bonets, the Ballesters, the Maymós, the Aldectoris, the Algehens, and the Aborrabes. These families had challenged and replaced the influential and tax-exempt families of Jewish royal bailiffs, the Avinçapruts and the Alconstantinis. Through at least the first quarter of the fourteenth century the oligarchic families shared the control of *aljama* government by holding at different times one of the three posts of *adelantat* or "secretary". The *adelantats* directed communal government, performing executive, legislative, fiscal, and judicial functions. The offices usually changed hands annually, though it was possible to be reelected as *adelantat*. There was also an advisory council the members of which were recruited from the leading families.⁶

The wealthy oligarchs walked a fine line between fulfilling their fiscal responsibilities to the community, thereby maintaining their

⁵ In *Jews of Morvedre* I offer a detailed account of royal taxation of the Valencian *aljamas* and explore the effects of this "fiscal servitude" on the Jews' social and political life. For a general orientation, though one that is less useful for the Valencian scene, see Y. Assis, *Jewish Economy in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327: Money and Power*, (Leiden 1997) and his "Jewish Capital and the Conquest of Sardinia by the Catalans", *Italia* 9, (1990) pp. 7–18.

⁶ See Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*, on the emergence of an oligarchy in the *aljama*. A *responsum* of Rabbi Solomon ibn Adret (d. 1310) provides the earliest evidence of an *aljama* council in Morvedre—*She'elot u-Teshuvot*, (Bene Berak 1957) vol. 3, no. 428. See also Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols, (Philadelphia 1961) 1, p. 219.

elite and honored status, and prudently concealing enough of their assets to avoid a severe economic setback and consequent social demotion. This was no easy balancing act; fiscal politics were thus intense and bitter. The oligarchs engaged in vicious intra-class warfare which was usually more threatening to their position than the protests of the overtaxed lower classes. The weapons they wielded against each other were for the most part fiscal. As annual elections kept them rotating in and out of communal government, they used their time in office to tax their enemies heavily and their allies lightly, knowing full well that their opponents would soon be wreaking fiscal vengeance on them. Election as one of the three *adelantats*, however, was no guarantee of a lighter tax burden, particularly when the other two were either very scrupulous or rivals—and in the claustrophobic world of *aljama* politics everyone was potentially a rival; everyone stood to gain from another's loss. In 1324, for example, the *adelantat* Isaac Passarell reacted "violently" and refused to pay the 2,000 sous for which he had been assessed in accordance with the tax-rate that year. One of the other *adelantats*, Jucef Bonet, registered a complaint with the royal authorities about Passarell's behavior.⁷

Although incessant and heavy royal taxation encouraged a Jewish politics in which the account book was more convenient and effective than the sword, rival oligarchs occasionally came to blows. One such case of intra-class violence demonstrates the role played by "informing", or accusations thereof, in the Morvedre community's oligarchic politics. In 1319, after Isaac Maymó and the Abenvives brothers allegedly wounded Jucef Algehen, the latter denounced the assailants before the court of the bailiff general and asked the bailiff to sentence and fine them "according to the rite of the Jews". Algehen avoided the court of the *adelantats*, even though he had evidence as palpable as a wound to show them, because the *adelantats* were his

⁷ ACA: C (Cancilleria Reial) 373: 173v–174r (1 May 1325) treats Bonet's complaint about Passarell, who "fecit illo anno caput brevium, in quo scribebat receptas et datas peytarum dicte aliamie, et cum ipsa aljama eodem anno tatxasset quod quilibet judeus solveret pro eo quod haberet decem et octo denarios pro libra ratione peyte quam nobis dare habebant, prefatus Isachus, contradicens tatxationi predictae violenter et indebite, retinuit penes se de hiis que ipse et quidam eius coniuncti debebant solvere in dicta peyta tatxacionem predictam duos mille solidos". Bonet and the other *adelantat*, Ismael Ballester, were reelected the following year; Passarell was not. Bonet and Ballester, however, personally had to compensate for the 2,000-sous shortfall in *aljama* revenue.

enemies and probably friends of Maymó and the Abenvives. The defendants naturally charged Jucef with “maliciously” violating the jurisdiction of the *adelantats* over cases involving only Jews, in other words, they accused him of informing.⁸

The other potential threat to the authority of the oligarchs in the *aljama* of Morvedre—aside from that posed by other oligarchs—came from lower- and middle-class Jews unhappy with their administration of communal affairs. The threat was slow in forming, however. In contrast to the much larger *aljama* of Valencia, where in 1300 the middle and lower classes successfully agitated for electoral reform and a role in tax-assessment, the *aljama* of Morvedre would not undergo significant institutional reform until 1327, in the aftermath of the wax-press affair.⁹ In this middle-sized Jewish community, which was comprised of some sixty families, the lower classes were neither sufficiently numerous nor organized to protest loudly and successfully. The complaints of members of these classes were sporadic and usually were not concerted. In 1297 the *adelantats* needed the

⁸ ACA: C 168: 142v (5 November 1319) is the complaint of Isaac Maymó and Jucef Abenvives against Jucef Algehen for having accused them of assault in the court of the bailiff general, “super eo quod asserit ipsos et utrumque ipsorum incurrisse penas duarum librarum auri juxta ritum judeorum sibi solvendarum”; in 142r (same date) Mossé Abenvives, a resident of Xàtiva, makes the same complaint. C 169: 86v (10 March 1320) concerns Algehen’s appeal of the sentence handed down by the bailiff general in his case against the Abenvives brothers. Y. Assis, “Crime and Violence in Jewish Society in Spain (13th–14th Centuries)” (Hebrew), *Zion* 50, (1985) p. 228, points out that Pere II authorized the Jews of Catalonia to try cases of violence between Jews in their own courts according to *halakhah*. In 1309 Queen Blanca, to whose personal treasury the *aljama* of Morvedre belonged, acknowledged the *adelantats*’ jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases involving Jews, except cases of homicide, which were reserved for the king’s adjudication. The queen, however, reminded her bailiff general, Enric de Quintavall, that the *adelantats* were obliged to settle accounts with him “de omnibus coloniis, penis et proventus jurisdictionis eis comisse”, since it had not been the king’s intention “quod predicti adenantati proventus et exitus dictarum causarum pretextu dicti privilegii possint sibi retinere” (ACA: C 289: 127r). In any case, the Algehens and their allies the Aborrabes had been getting the worst of it in *aljama* politics. In 1320 they therefore led an unsuccessful “rebellion” against the reigning *adelantats* (on which see ACA: C 170: 269r–v, 272v–273r, 296r, and Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*). Jucef Algehen subsequently left town for a while but was back in Morvedre by 1325. The political fortunes of the Algehens and the Aborrabes improved by the time of wax-press affair.

⁹ For the reforms in the *aljama* of Valencia, see Baer, *A History*, 1, pp. 230–231; and Y. Assis, “Social Unrest and Class Struggle in Jewish Communities in Spain before the Expulsion” (Hebrew) in J. Dan (ed.), *Culture and History*, (Jerusalem 1987) p. 133.

assistance of the municipal justice to compel “objectors and rebels” to pay their taxes, though affluent Jews may well have participated in the rebellion.¹⁰ Even the institution of the *per sou e lliura* method of tax-assessment in the *aljama* of Morvedre in 1307 resulted less from the agitation of its poorer Jews than from the concern of Jaume II to tax all his Valencian *aljamas* as thoroughly and as expeditiously as possible. According to the *per sou e lliura* plan, each Jewish householder’s fiscal contribution was computed on the basis of his (or her) sworn declaration, under oath, of his (or her) assets. This replaced the system whereby the *adelantats* decided arbitrarily how much in taxes each household should render.¹¹

Even if the oligarchs found themselves paying more taxes after 1307, the new fiscal regime did not make life any easier for poorer Jews. The sworn declarations of assets made by householders enabled the *adelantats*, always racing to meet the next fiscal deadline, to be as thorough or as ruthless as necessary.¹² Besides, for almost the next twenty years the oligarchs remained completely in control of *aljama* government. In reaction to the *per sou e lliura* system, they devised new strategies for evading royal taxation, often concealing their assets on the domains of baronial patrons.¹³ Poorer families, by contrast, lacked the connections and the knowhow to escape the royal taxman. The desultory pious legacies of the well-to-do, while helpful, did not provide adequate relief for families facing the rapacity of Jaume II.¹⁴

¹⁰ ACA: C 108: 133v (3 July 1297): “contradicentes et rebelles”. The *aljama* was at that juncture being asked to provide its share of a 20,000-sous royal subsidy on top of its recent “loan” of 3,500 sous to the king. Discontent in the community was likely widespread.

¹¹ ACA: C 289: 35v (10 January 1308) concerns the institution of the new plan in the Morvedre community, despite the opposition of some well-to-do families. For a variety of reasons (on which see Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*), most members of the community supported them. They could not prevail, however, against a determined Jaume II.

¹² For instance, a Jew of middling wealth, Vives de Hinos, who probably had not paid his taxes or revealed his assets quickly enough, denounced the *adelantats* for having “violently robbed” him of his vineyard, which they sold for 550 sous to a local Christian (ACA: C 141: 186v [31 January 1308]).

¹³ See Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*, on these strategies and the Jews’ connections with the seigneurs of the region, which endured until the expulsion of 1492.

¹⁴ ACA: C 171: 104v (18 January 1321) treats the bequest of landed property to the *aljama* by Bonet de Linas. The property carried an annual rent of 6 *mazemutinas* which were to be distributed among the poor. The creation of confraterni-

Jaume II's extraction of immense sums from Valencian Jewry between 1321 and 1327 exacerbated social tensions in the *jueria* of Morvedre. Making headway against the powerful oligarchs was, as ever, difficult and frustrating for Jews of lesser means. One of them, Nacin Astrug, discovered firsthand how the oligarchs defeated overt, public challenges to their authority. In 1321 Nacin appealed to the king after the *adelantats*, attempting to tax him for alleged undisclosed assets, barged into his house in his absence to seize bedding and other items. On royal orders, the local bailiff designated two Jews to investigate the case, but the latter, cowed by the oligarchs, "did not care to make a ruling on it".¹⁵ In such circumstances, some Jews not surprisingly concluded that surreptitious informing was the only way to defeat the oligarchs.

By the spring of 1325 fiscal politics had reached a critical level of nastiness in most Valencian Jewish communities. *Aljama* officials in Valencia informed Prince Alfons that in their community, and in other communities in their fiscal collectory, Jews were injuring each other through making "many and divers unjust and calumnious accusations or denunciations". The result of all of these court battles, they maintained, would be unnecessary expense and impoverishment for individuals as well as communities.¹⁶ In the Jewish quarter of Morvedre accusations and recriminations so poisoned the atmosphere that by the following year the community could not assemble to elect its officials. Prince Alfons enjoined the local bailiff to choose "two suitable Jews" to take care of the essential business of taxing

ties for dealing with the needs of the poor in a more systematic fashion seems not to have taken place among the Jews of Morvedre until the later fourteenth century. See Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*, and the more general comments of Y. Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327*, (London 1997) pp. 242–246 and his "Welfare and Mutual Aid in the Spanish Jewish Communities", in H. Beinart (ed.), *The Sephardi Legacy*, (Jerusalem 1992) pp. 318–327; and A. Blasco Martínez, "Instituciones socioreligiosas judías de Zaragoza (siglos XIV–XV)—Sinagogas, confradías, hospitales", *Sefarad* 49, (1989) pp. 227–236, 50, (1990) pp. 3–46.

¹⁵ ACA: C 172: 105v (3 November 1321): "non curarunt super eo aliquid ordinare". King Jaume left the bailiff general with the task of trying to penetrate the collusive silence.

¹⁶ ACA: C 373: 141v (20 April 1325): Jews "adinvicem, ut unus alium dampnificet, faciant et movent plures et diversas iniquas et calumpnias accusationes seu denunciationes".

Jewish householders; if necessary, the bailiff was to appoint the *adelantats* as well.¹⁷

At the center of the tumult in Morvedre were Bonet Avincanes, his father-in-law Gento Asseyo, and his brother-in-law Mossé Asseyo. In November 1326 the three Jews were accused of having perpetrated various crimes by their Jewish and Christian enemies. According to the extant list of charges against him, Bonet's alleged crimes were: while arguing with Jewish clients over fees at the *jueria's* wax-press, which he had sublet from the king's concessionaire Pedro Martínez de Huesca, Bonet insulted the king and Christianity by throwing coins imprinted with royal and Christian symbols into the fire; supported by his scheming father-in-law, Bonet assaulted good Jewish men, who feared to complain about his violence lest he inform against them; Bonet threatened to kill Clement Crescuyl, a Christian authorized by the *aljama* to collect the *peita*, because Crescuyl was placing a lien on his property; Bonet stole wax from Jewish customers, who also declined to press charges out of fear of Bonet's informing; and, like his father-in-law, Bonet was a sorcerer. King Jaume ordered the bailiff general to conduct a secret investigation. On 7 January 1327 the bailiff questioned nine Jewish witnesses; their testimonies corroborated the charges against Bonet.¹⁸

Whatever substance the charges against them had, the three defendants were clearly the objects of a campaign of character assassination orchestrated by members of Morvedre's Jewish oligarchy and their Christian allies. Bonet Avincanes and his in-laws, the Asseynos, were Jews of middling but growing wealth, men on the make—or upstarts in the eyes of the oligarchs—who wanted a share of power in the *aljama* and who were disgruntled with the fiscal administration of the ruling elite. The Asseynos made their money through retail commerce and moneylending; Avincanes, who perhaps also engaged in these activities, sought to improve his economic position by sub-

¹⁷ ACA: C 376: 174r (16 April 1326): "Pro parte aliquorum judeorum aliam Muriveteris intelleximus quod ipsa aliam in eligendis sibi secretariis et adelantatis potest minime convenire . . .".

¹⁸ The charges against Bonet and the testimonies of the nine witnesses are in ACA: RA, Procesos, Legajo 512/12, and are transcribed by Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", pp. 92–102. ACA: C 188: 115r (8 November 1326) is King Jaume's order to the bailiff general, Bernat de Nuç, to conduct the investigation; the order is also copied into the above case file.

letting the wax-press from Martínez. Particularly disconcerting to the oligarchs was the fact that the trio enjoyed some influence with Prince Alfons, a connection which they might employ for achieving their goals. The trio's access to the prince's ear was the source of oligarchic anxiety about Avincanes' alleged illicit informing. The denouncers claimed as well that Mossé Asseyo had "informed" (*hamsinat*) on the nobleman Ramon de Montcada, the lord of Artana, to the prince, causing the noble to lose the seignury. Mossé had indeed filed a formal complaint after Montcada jailed and extorted money from him.¹⁹ This hardly constituted criminal "informing" as defined by Jewish law, but for those trying to smear Mossé it would have to do.

Five of the nine witnesses willing to testify secretly against Bonet Avincanes were from oligarchic families whose members had served as *adelantats*: Isaac Maymó; Jaffia Aborrabe; Mossé and Samuel Passarell; and Samuel Bonet. A sixth witness, Mossé Abenvives, was an ally of Isaac Maymó, whom he had joined in the attack on Juçef Algehen a few years earlier. The three remaining witnesses—Isaac Bites, Abraham Azaron, and the butcher Galafo Miganeques—had no demonstrable ties to the others and no obvious political motive for testifying against the defendants. The oligarchic witnesses, however, did have a motive for wishing to ruin and silence Avincanes and the Asseyos. In testifying that many Jews in the community lived in trepidation of the trio's malicious informing, they spoke for themselves and other members of the ruling elite. They were afraid that Avincanes and his in-laws would make damning revelations to Prince Alfons or other authorities about their administration of *aljama* taxes and their less than full disclosure of their own assets.²⁰ The defendants, in fact, had already whispered against the oligarchs.

In 1322 Mossé Asseyo appealed directly to Prince Alfons after the *adelantats* allegedly taxed him excessively; Bonet Avincanes registered a like complaint with the prince in 1325.²¹ They attempted to get

¹⁹ ACA: C 371: 204r-v (8 November 1322) is Prince Alfons' response to the plea of Mossé.

²⁰ Here I differ from Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", p. 86 who asserts that the alleged victims of Avincanes feared that "he would inform against them in a Jewish court".

²¹ ACA: C 371: 153v (18 October 1322): Mossé made this complaint jointly with his cousin Mossé, the son of Isaac Asseyo. C 373: 47r-v (13 February 1325): Bonet

the *aljama*'s tax-collector, Clement Crescuyl, into hot water in 1323 by leaking information to the king that "the *aljama*" suspected that Crescuyl had collected an extra 4,000 sous from Jewish taxpayers and then embezzled the money. The royal judge assigned to the case discovered that *aljama* officials were actually quite pleased with Crescuyl's accounting and that anonymous Jewish enemies had framed him.²²

Hot-tempered and combative, though not a sorcerer, Bonet Avincanes expressed his discontent with communal government in more overt fashion. He insulted and dishonored rivals in the public forum of the synagogue and in other places.²³ When pushed, Bonet could resort to violence, and in 1325 the oligarchy shoved him with heavy taxation. When the collector Crescuyl came to confiscate his goods, Bonet reached for his dagger and caused an uproar.²⁴ On another occasion he knocked Jaffia Aborrabe to the ground with a blow to the head. Jaffia nonetheless dissuaded the *adelantat* Isaac Maymó from arresting Bonet and making the assault a cause célèbre, for he knew that Bonet had stories to tell.²⁵

If Jaffia had hoped to pacify Bonet, he failed. Bonet and his in-laws no doubt belonged to the group of "certain Jews" responsible for notifying Prince Alfons in March 1325 that Jaffia and fifteen others had resisted making sworn declarations of their assets in accordance with the *per sou e lliura* plan.²⁶ Pleased to receive this valuable bit of information, the prince put Bonet in a position to obtain more.

pleaded together with Samuel Bubo. The complaints of Bonet, Bubo, and other Jews (Isaac Abenafrit and five members of the Barbut family [C 373: 79r, 81r]) resulted in the crown re-instituting the *per sou e lliura* system of tax-assessment. This system, which the affluent elite usually disfavored, had fallen into disuse in the *aljama* in 1322 (see Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*).

²² ACA: C 179: 193v (6 July 1323) is King Jaume's order to the judge, Pere Calbet, to investigate; and C 180: 187v (17 October) treats the results of Calbet's inquiry.

²³ All the witnesses concur on this side of Bonet's character; see especially the testimony of Abraham Azaron (Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", p. 98).

²⁴ For example, the testimony of Mossé Abenvives (Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", p. 99).

²⁵ Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", for the relevant testimonies of Jaffia Aborrabe himself (p. 95), Isaac Maymó (p. 94), and Isaac Bites, who states that the attack occurred around two years earlier, that is, in early 1325 or late 1324 (p. 97).

²⁶ Prince Alfons points out that he was informed "*per aliquos judeos dicte aljame*" (ACA: C 373: 123v-124r [10 April 1325]); and "*ex relatione quorundam judeorum*" (130r [16 April]). It is worth emphasizing that this information was conveyed

In May he authorized Bonet and two local Christians, Alfons Martí and Bernat Vives, to inspect the *adelantats*' accounts for the purpose of resolving the financial problems caused by the refusal of the *adelantat* Isaac Passarell to pay his share of taxes the previous year.²⁷ Bonet Avincanes now seemed more threatening than ever.

The oligarchs comprising "the *aljama*" had also tried to buy Mossé Asseyo's silence with a tempting bribe: a lifetime exemption from all taxes. Mossé had happily taken the Hebrew letter of exemption and may well have kept quiet himself. There were others, like his father and brother-in-law, to act as the prince's confidence men. Having expected Mossé to keep his relations in line, *aljama* officials took their revenge on Mossé in May 1325. They exacted a large "loan" from him and appropriated towards its payment certain domiciles he owned as well as his seat in the synagogue. Short of issuing a ban against him, depriving Mossé of his synagogue seat was the most effective method of disciplining him before the community, of warning him and his friends that their squealing to Prince Alfons had gone too far and that they could not so easily parley their influence with the prince into power in the *aljama*. The antagonized officials and their collector—probably Crescuyl again—then defied the local bailiff when he intervened on Mossé's behalf at the express order of Prince Alfons. The prince angrily insisted on their punishment.²⁸ Mossé probably got his seat in the synagogue back and escaped paying taxes for a time.

Having failed to halt their advance on the fiscal front, the elite enemies of Avincanes and the Asseyos mobilized to wrest control of the royal wax-press from them. Bonet, the sublessee, and his father-in-law may well have engaged in some questionable business practices and have had heated arguments with Jewish customers, but

to Prince Alfons before it reached King Jaume. The sixteen Jews incurred a collective fine of 4,000 sous for their impudence. In addition to Aborrabe, there were at least five other Jews from oligarchic families among them.

²⁷ ACA: C 373: 173v–174r (1 May 1325). As explained above (at n. 7), the complaint about Passarell's negligence came from one of the other *adelantats*, Jucef Bonet, who had personally assumed responsibility for 7,000 sous of the *aljama*'s debts. Passarell's payment of 2,000 sous was supposed to have covered part of the 7,000 sous.

²⁸ ACA: C 375: 89v–90r (7 May 1325); and 123v (13 September 1325). Communal officials exacted money from Mossé "per modum de presteche" (89v–90r) in order to circumvent the formal tax-exemption they had given him. The prince ordered that if such a Hebrew *carta* existed, it must be observed (123v).

what was at stake here was not commercial integrity or the supply of wax but the authority of the oligarchy. Avincanes and friends had already damaged it, for in 1325 they had bested the oligarchs in every encounter. At a time when the diminishing resources of Jewish families were draining incessantly into the king's maw, the management of a lucrative royal utility by these ambitious and aggressive upstarts might tip the socioeconomic balance decisively in their favor.

The battle for the wax-press began in earnest in April 1326 with "some Jews", united in a "sworn conspiracy", organizing a boycott of Bonet's wax-press.²⁹ In the summer the oligarchs recruited Christian friends to persuade Bonet to relinquish his lease. Signals from the local bailiff, Guillem Fochau, suggested to Bonet, Gento Asseyo, and their friend Samuel Biobu that they were going to face official harassment.³⁰ Then two Christians, Pere Babot and Pere Lezina, threatened Bonet and Gento with death, because Bonet, they asserted, was compelling all local Jews to process their wax in his press.³¹ Babot and Lezina possibly ran a wax-press themselves, their threat therefore nothing more than an aggressive business tactic, but Babot at least was an old acquaintance of some elite Jewish families. Five years earlier Salamó Coffe had ceded him the revenue pertaining to the offices of *aljama* scribe and slaughterer; Babot had, in turn, registered a plea against Coffe's Jewish enemies in the royal court.³²

Though shaken, Bonet refused to abandon the wax-press. With Bonet and the Asseyos still challenging their authority, the oligarchs

²⁹ ACA: C 409: 25r (14 April 1326): "Ad nostrum noveritis pervenisse auditum quod nonnulli judei dicti loci in contemptum regie jurisdictionis fecerunt inter se emprendimenta juramento vallata quod in quodam torn cere quod alias vocatur almaçera, quodque tenetur pro dicto domino rege ad certum censum, minime operarentur . . .". See also Lourie, "Mafiosi and Malsines", pp. 85–86 n. 53. The nice translation, "sworn conspiracy," is hers. The control of crown utilities was also a source of controversy among Christians; see, for instance, ACA: C 176: 69r (11 August 1322) regarding crown ovens; and C 177: 139r (22 March 1323) regarding a "tabula carnicerie" in the parish of Sant Salvador.

³⁰ ACA: CR Jaume II, caja 134, no. 169 (25 June 1326): "Cum Gentonus Assehu, Samuel Biobu et Benetus Avencanes, judei Muriveteris, timeant per vos [the bailiff] gravari iniuste sive etiam indebite molestari; idcirco ad eorum supplicationem nos exhibitam vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus manutenendo et defendendo dictos judeos in jure suo non gravetis eosdem iniuste seu gravari per aliquem aliquatenus permittatis".

³¹ ACA: CR Jaume II, caja 134, no. 172 (8 July 1326).

³² ACA: C 172: 231r (8 January 1322); and Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*, for more on this case.

colluded with Babot and Lezina to accuse them, in November, of various crimes before the royal court. At the same time, they prevailed upon Pedro Martínez to seek from King Jaume license to break his lease with Bonet so that he could sublet the wax-press to some of their number, namely, Isaac Maymó and Mossé and Samuel Passarell. These three were, not coincidentally, key witnesses in the criminal case against Bonet. Explaining to the king his wish to terminate the lease with Bonet, Martínez wrote, “since the said Bonet is a poor man . . . who has nothing . . . neither your revenue nor mine would be very secure”.³³ Poor and violent, insulter of Christianity and sorcerer—this was not the sort, the oligarchs suggested, to be managing a crown utility much less serving in *aljama* government.

Even if the wax-press changed hands, the criminal charges against Avincanes and the Asseyos did not result in their conviction. Gento Asseyo was on favorable enough terms with the crown in April 1327 to receive a royal writ of protection against his creditors. That same month King Jaume also cautioned his bailiffs to give Gento, his son, and son-in-law a proper hearing should any of them appear before their tribunals.³⁴ The trio had not triumphed over their oligarchic antagonists and still required protection against them and the Christian officials who favored them. In the spring of 1327 the contest for power in the *aljama* was at a stalemate.

Bonet Avincanes and the Asseyos had never styled themselves as the leaders of a movement of middle- and lower-class Jews against the oligarchy. They were not striving to effect constitutional change; they barely paid lip service to the notion. Their politics were primarily self-interested. When they leaked information to Prince Alfons, for example, they did it to harm their enemies or to advance their own position; they did not tell the prince about the plight of the Jewish poor or the frustrations of the Jewish middle class. Yet because

³³ ACA: CR Jaume II, caja 134, no. 205 (26 November 1326) [A. Chabret Fraga, *Sagunto: su historia y sus monumentos*, 2 vols., (Sagunto 1979; reprint of 1888 edition), 2, pp. 499–501, no. 43]: “Et com lo dit Bonet sia hom pobre e hom que no ha res e el vostre dret ni el meu no sia ben segur . . .”.

³⁴ ACA: CR Jaume II, caja 134, no. 221 (22 April 1327) for the royal *elongamentum*; and no. 222 (same date) for the letter to the bailiff general and bailiff of Morvedre, “quatenus in quibuscumque negociis dictorum judeorum que coram vobis seu vestrum quolibet contingerint suscitari . . . fori et rationis limitem observando eosdem, contra forum in aliquo non gravetis nec gravari etiam permittatis”.

they had friends, and because a good number of lower- and middle-class families shared their disgruntlement with the oligarchy's fiscal administration, when their clash with the oligarchy entered the realm of public knowledge it was bound, in a community of some sixty households, to cause a stir and to become a focus for the discontent of the disenfranchised.

Without a dramatic, exemplary crushing of the Asseyos and Avincanes to calm passions and still tongues, the Jewish community could not by itself satisfactorily and peacefully resolve its internal problems. Communal government could not function properly. In June 1327 a representative of the *aljama*, probably Jaffia Aborrabe, told the king that when the *aljama* meets to hold elections or pass needed legislation, "some individual Jews, moved by envy or rancor, oppose themselves to the aforesaid, from which dissensions and disputes among them [the Jews] are fed, and the business of the said *aljama* is often harmfully impeded". The troublemakers were, by the representative's account, nameless and classless, their motives seemingly petty. Yet at election time even such 'petty' disputes transcended personal grudges to touch on constitutional issues.

One thing was clear: a Jewish community hopelessly mired in controversy would not be able to amass royal subsidies efficiently. King Jaume therefore acted decisively and reformed the *aljama*'s electoral system in such a way as to maximize political and social stability. On the one hand, he addressed the discontent of the lower classes by affording them some role in communal government. On the other hand, he enhanced the crown's control over the electoral process and consolidated the power of the oligarchy, at least that of its most scrupulous members. In the new electoral system, the bailiff general was to select two Jews from each class—upper, middle, and lower—who would then elect the *adelantats* and other communal officials for a two-year term. Every two years the bailiff would designate six new electors.³⁵ The bailiff general was not about to choose known rabble-

³⁵ ACA: C 230: 59r (24 June 1327): "Intelleximus per procuratorem aljame judeorum Muriveteris quod sepe contingit quod cum dicta aljama eligit secretarios, adenantatos, receptores compotorum seu officiales alios, aut ordinat aliquas res utiles ac sibi necessarias, aliqui singulares judei, ducti invidia seu rancore, opponunt se ad predicta, ex quo nutriuntur inter eos dissensiones et rixe, et negocia dicte aljame sepius suscipiunt detrimentum. Quapropter, ad supplicationem dicte aljame nobis exhibitam, vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus, visis presentibus, eligatis [Bernat

rousers or radical reformers—if such persons existed—from among the lower classes, but individuals who could work together with their social betters for the good of the community (and the good of the royal treasury). At the same time, the presence of four (out of six) lower- and middle-class electors ensured the election of communal officials who would not ignore the real concerns of the overtaxed majority.

Institution of the new system, however, did not signal the end of oligarchy. Humbler Jews accustomed to deferring to the authority and learning of the elite were not likely to elect unlettered political novices to lead them and to perform the crucial tasks of securing privileges and protection from the king and haggling over taxes with his officials. The informal networks of patronage which had tied the poor to the wealthy and had upheld oligarchy these many years were not easily dissolved. Besides, oligarchy had not been all bad; a good number of the oligarchs must have been as socially responsible as Jucef Bonet who, as *adelantat* in 1324, had paid off the *aljama's* 7,000-sous debt by himself.³⁶ The main effect of the new system was not to dismantle oligarchy but to open it up somewhat to men from the middle class who by virtue of their conduct in social, business, and religious affairs were widely respected in the community. Bonet Avincanes and the Asseyos, however, did not break into the oligarchy. Choosing any one of them as either an elector or an official

Scriba, bailiff general] sex judeos dicte aljame, duos videlicet de manu maiori, duos de mediocri et alios duos de minori, qui per duos annos sequentes eligant secretarios, adenantatos et receptores compotorum et officiales alios ac res necessarias et utiles dicte aljame. Et transactis dictis duobus annis, eligantur alii sex judei et subsequenter de duobus in duobus annis per vos seu successores vestros, qui in premissis procedant juxta modum superius expressatum". Assis, *Golden Age*, p. 97, misinterprets this document, missing the key role of the bailiff general. The new electoral system instituted in the *aljama* of Valencia in April 1327 was similar to that of Morvedre—see ACA: C 229: 274r [F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien. Urkunden und Regesten*, 2 vols, (Berlin 1929–36) 1, pp. 249–250, no. 188]. One crucial difference, however, was that in Valencia the *aljama*, not the bailiff general, chose the six electors in the synagogue. The necessity of the bailiff's intervention in the elections of the *aljama* of Morvedre suggests that its political crisis was more severe.

ACA: C 190: 215v (23 June 1327) suggests that Jaffia Aborrabe was the above *procuratorem*; it describes him as having traveled to confer with the king in Barcelona "pro obtinendis aliquibus litteris sive cartis dicte aljame necessariis". The letter responds to his request to be reimbursed by the *aljama* for the expenses thus incurred.

³⁶ ACA: C 373: 173v–174r; and see above.

would only have exacerbated tensions; they had rubbed too many powerful families the wrong way. Bonet, moreover, was neither diplomat nor peacemaker.

Just before instituting the reformed electoral system, King Jaume had acceded to the *aljama*'s request to establish a comprehensive system of internal taxation, which included a wide array of sales-taxes and levies on individual earnings. Designed to facilitate the *aljama*'s payment of royal taxes, it, like the electoral system, responded to lower-class concerns while upholding oligarchy. Practically every occupational group saw its earnings subject to taxation: winegrowers, shoemakers, tailors, silversmiths, retail merchants, brokers, moneylenders, and so on. The lowly artisan could not claim that affluent moneylenders were being given a free ride. Sales-taxes of course were regressive, and those levied on the purchase of foodstuffs hit the lower classes harder. Yet, as if to balance this inequity, there was a series of what might be termed 'luxury taxes,' taxes levied on the purchase of items which only the well-to-do could afford: clothing of silk and otter skin, fine household furnishings made of silk and other expensive materials, gold thread, and strings of pearls. Furthermore, maidens, widows, and poor old men were exempted from the head tax of one *diner* collected from every Jew at the end of each month. Such Jews would rely on the charity of the community, which seems by then to have been administering a charitable fund (*heqdes*) financed through the pious legacies of individuals. The tensions and animosities which had precipitated the reforms of 1327 may well have forced the elites to recognize the poverty which had helped to engender them.

Members of elite families were in fact responsible for administering this system of internal taxes and for auctioning off individual taxes to tax-farmers, Jewish or Christian. The administrators designated in 1327 were all oligarchs: Abraham, the son of David Coffe; Benvenist Coffe; Jaffia Aborrabe; and Jacob Aldoctori. Assuming, like Jaume II, that only the wealthy had the business experience and integrity to run such a system efficiently and honestly, Pere III (1336-87) enjoined ten years later that all four administrators be chosen from among the "major taxpayers" (*ex majoribus peytariis*).³⁷

³⁷ ACA: C 861: 168v-169r (11 February 1337): "ex majoribis peytariis . . . possint ponere inter judeos dicte aljame sisam".

Some of the fiscal regulations were intended to avert the efforts of Jews to evade or violently oppose the new taxes and their oligarchic administrators. Any Jew favoring the tactics of Bonet Avincanes who dared to attack verbally or physically the collectors or the administrators would incur a fine of ten gold *morabatins*. The same fine was to be exacted from anyone who deliberately defrauded the system.

Individual Jews were permitted, however, to reach separate agreements with the tax-collectors whereby they would pay one lump-sum instead of being taxed for each transaction. Affluent Jews were the ones most likely to have bothered seeking such special arrangements, and they may well have benefited from them—but only slightly. The tax-farmers, whose profits depended on taxing the rich as well as the poor, would not have given them much of a break. The new system of internal taxes, then, did not inordinately favor the wealthy, but it did give them control over another area—a very important area—of communal government.³⁸

The *aljama* itself, moreover, passed one crucial piece of legislation, which, like the new crown-imposed electoral and fiscal systems, was meant to promote political stability and enhance the authority of communal government. It issued an ordinance forbidding all Jews to challenge the assessments of the four communal tax-assessors, on penalty of 100 *morabatins*. The ordinance would hopefully stem the tide of complaints of “excessive taxation” to the king and thus reduce the factionalism, conspiracy, and informing which had plagued the community in recent years.³⁹

The measures of King Jaume and the *aljama* did not effect lasting peace and good government. Alfons III (1327–36) squeezed the Jews even more than his father had, while the agrarian difficulties and epidemics of the 1330s and 1340s crippled the borrowers and taxpayers on whose timely payments Morvedre’s Jewish lenders and tax-farmers depended. With leading Jewish families competing for diminishing resources, fiscal politics in the *aljama* lost little of their

³⁸ ACA: C 230: 60r–63v (18 June 1327) [Chabret, *Sagunto*, 2, pp. 408–422, no. 8].

³⁹ ACA: C 381: 227v–228r (3 August 1327) addresses the plea of Jucef Minal who feared incurring the heavy penalty because, absent from Morvedre when the ordinance was passed, he had unwittingly complained about the *aljama*’s taxation of him. Jucef’s plea indicates that communal officials were determined to enforce the ordinance.

rancor. The conduct of Jewish politics would change only in the fifteenth century, after the evolution of a new royal fiscal regime and the introduction of new credit mechanisms substantially lessened the importance of Jewish revenue and Jewish credit for king and kingdom. Yet even as Jewish politics were transformed, families and factions still struggled for power and “informing”, or accusations thereof, remained weapons in their arsenals.⁴⁰ Thanks to Professor Lourie, historians are more sensitive to the multiple meanings and uses of *malshinut*. She has cautioned us to take nothing for granted and has encouraged us to dig more deeply in the sources in order to establish, in any given case, just who were the “malsines” and who the “mafiosi”.

⁴⁰ For these developments, see Meyerson, *Jews of Morvedre*.

SOLOMON ANAGNI, *PERPUNTERO* OF THE KING OF
ARAGON AND DEPUTY *MERINO* OF SARAGOSSA
(XIV CENTURY)

Asunción Blasco Martínez

Introduction

I became interested in the figure of Solomon Anagni (Anachni, Anahagni, Ananni) when I was preparing my doctoral thesis, as he belonged to the domestic staff of the Royal Household. Later, he drew my attention again when I began to study the charge of adultery issued against his wife, Doña Lumbre.¹ At that time I announced my intention to study Solomon, a very interesting personality, because as well as being the Jewish adulteress's husband and *perpuntero* (a specialist in padding heavy fabrics and a type of present day interior designer) of the Royal Household, at the time of the trial he held the post of deputy *merino* (judge appointed by the king with jurisdiction over a certain territory) in the *kahal* of Saragossa. Furthermore, he was exempt from paying taxes for a period of time and he also lived a long life, as his professional career is documented throughout the years 1353–1398.

The task has taken longer than expected, as in order to try and reconstruct his biography, the information which I had patiently gathered from the notarial records of Saragossa was not sufficient. Owing to his personal and professional ties to the Crown and the court, it was also essential to consult the collections of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona. An arduous task, not only because of the diversity of collections which had to be examined, but also the amount, as I have already mentioned that Solomon lived a long life. I realise that I have not examined the total amount

¹ A. Blasco Martínez, "Avance de estudio de un caso de adulterio en la aljama de Zaragoza (siglo XIV)", in *Proceedings of Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division B, vol. I, (Jerusalem 1986) pp. 105–112 and "El adulterio de Doña Lumbre, judía de Zaragoza, causas y consecuencias (1368)", *Michael* 11, (1989) pp. 99–120.

of registers pertaining to the Royal Chancellery, however I have checked a considerable number of them. And although I am aware that unedited documents regarding this figure may still appear, after twenty five years of research, and in view of the invitation to contribute towards a well deserved tribute to Professor Elena Lourie (whom I met in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon while I was trying to locate new information concerning this odd Jewish couple), I think the time has come to put down on paper all that I have so far managed to discover about this peculiar and singular individual.

The Family

It seems that the Anagnis did not come from Perpignan, which up to recently was thought to be the case. The error was uncovered in a document published by Baer which read “Salamonis Anahagni, judei Perpiniani”, when what should have been transcribed was “judei perpunteri”.² I do not know when the Anagnis settled in Aragon, nor whether they were related to a man called Jacob Anagane [*sic*] who in 1175 appended his signature as witness to a loan agreement granted by Jafia, son of David of Monzón, who apparently lived in Lérida.³ The first reliable news regarding the Anagnis of Saragossa dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century: in 1327 Zecrí Anagni alias Gualit⁴ was an *adelantado* (executive governor) of that *kahal*.⁵ In 1337 he held the title of Don, along with thirty five other Jews who made up the seventy five members of the plenary assembly of that community.⁶ Although I have no documentary proof to justify this, I would venture to suggest that this Zecrí was the father of brothers Solomon and Ishaq. The following evidence supports this hypothesis:

² See ACA, reg. 1566, fol. 57v (1356.V.5), published in F. Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, (Berlin 1936) I, n° 255. I appreciate Prof. David Romano's kindness, who, at the time, warned me of the mistake and provided me with a copy of the above mentioned document.

³ ACA, reg. 1566, fol. 57v, published in Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, p. 33.

⁴ AHPZ, Domingo de la Figuera, 1329, fol. 49.

⁵ AHPZ, Domingo de la Figuera, 1327, fol. 13v.

⁶ ACA, reg. 949, fols. 18v–19v (1337.X.28).

- All of them bore the Anagni surname.
- They were Jews from Saragossa.
- The dates which appear on the documents do not invalidate the possibility that fathers and sons were involved.
- The Jew residing in Saragossa in 1337 was called Zecrí, and at the end of the fourteenth century, a *perpuntero* also with the name of Zecrí Anagni lived in that city, who, according to this evidence, would be the son of Solomon or Ishaq Anagni. This fits in perfectly with the Sephardic tradition of naming the first born son after the paternal grandfather.

It is neither feasible to affirm nor deny the possible family ties between Solomon and other people called Anagni and/or Gualit living in Saragossa in the second half of the fourteenth century, except to say that he was Ishaq Anagni's brother,⁷ and one of his collaborators,⁸ and that like him, he received a royal prerogative and was exempt from paying taxes for several years, at least until 1370.⁹ It is quite possible that Astruga de Gualit, who in 1369 was then Ishaq Belforat's widow, was his sister.¹⁰ And while we are hypothesising, it is even possible that this Astruga had something to do with a Jewess called Estrella, mother of another Zecrí Gualit who was killed in Saragossa in 1381 at the instigation of Ferrer Saladin.¹¹

Everything seems to indicate that Solomon, as well as his brother Ishaq, belonged to the "mano mediana o menor" (middle or lower social class) of the *kahal* in Saragossa.¹² This does not imply that he held a low economic and social status, as it has already been stated the first Zecrí Anagni documented in Saragossa held the title of Don.

⁷ Documented in Saragossa mid-fourteenth century. ACA, Real Patrimonio, 871, fol. 65 (1359–62).

⁸ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 341, fol. 93v (1360.II.18).

⁹ See Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, pp. 302–303.

¹⁰ AHPZ, Domingo de Tarba, 1369, fols. 9–10 (1369.XI.20).

¹¹ Information in ACA, reg. 2080, fol. 43v (1387.IX.10). It is quite possible that this is the Zecrí who appears recorded as a witness in a notarial document in Saragossa in 1367. AHPZ, Domingo Pérez de Acelín, 1367, fol. 267v.

¹² On August 21st 1353, sixteen Jews from among the middle and lower social class of the *kahal* in Saragossa appointed Jentó Macho, Ishaq Afia, Ishaq Anagni and Mossé Dada, Jews of this city, as attorneys to represent them before the king, the governor or any other judge of the Royal Court, in a lawsuit issued against the elder Jews obliged to pay tributes in that community. AHPZ, Simón de Acirón, 1354.VIII.28.

In relation to Solomon, I know that his role as courtesan and deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter meant that not only he, but also his next of kin (his brother and both their wives and children) were able to enjoy a higher social status than was the norm (“precipue modo quo vivit dictus judeus”).¹³ Furthermore, it has already been pointed out that they were exempt from paying taxes during a certain period of time.

Solomon was married to Lumbre (de Lunell?),¹⁴ and divorced her when she was charged with committing adultery.¹⁵ He may have had children with her or with a second wife, but there is no proof of this.¹⁶

Whether Zecrí Anagni, is his son or his brother's son, the fact remains that he was also a *perpuntero* and is documented regularly in Saragossa from 1383 onwards.¹⁷ He married Duenya Belfora,¹⁸ also called Duenya de Gualit,¹⁹ and they had two daughters: Sol, who married Abraham Abenresch,²⁰ and Astruga,²¹ who married the tailor,

¹³ ACA, reg. 972, fols. 161–161v.

¹⁴ A brother-in-law of Solomon's was called Jucé Abraham de Lunell. ACA, reg. 1566, fol. 57v (1356.V.5), published in Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, p. 33.

¹⁵ I have dealt with this in the articles mentioned in note 1.

¹⁶ In the translation of a document in Hebrew dated November 20th 1400 and published by Millás Vallicrosa, there are allusions to Solomon's houses. It states that at that time they belonged to Abraham Gallur although they were previously owned by Don Solomon Anagni's son [J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, “Documentos hebraicos del Archivo del Pilar, de Zaragoza”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 96, (1930) p. 683]. According to what Jaume Riera, of the ACA, has told me, in the transcription of the document in Hebrew this fact concurs with Baer (Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, n° 473) where it specifies that the houses once belonged to Solomon, then deceased. However, no son is mentioned. I am grateful to Mr Riera for this valuable information, as it prevented my argument from being based on erroneous facts.

¹⁷ AHPZ, Rodrigo Alfonso, 1383, fol. 101v.

¹⁸ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, fol. 47v (1384.III.1).

¹⁹ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1395.VII.28, fol. 130v.

²⁰ On February 25th 1386, Sol de Anagni, daughter of Zecrí Anagni, appointed Juan de Biota and her father, Zecrí, as attorneys (AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1386.II.25). On November 12th 1400, Abraham Abenresch, a Jew from Saragossa, and his wife, Sol ‘Ananni’ received 17 florins as a loan from the convert Antón de Casafranca (AHPZ, Juan de Capilla, 1400, fols. 67v–68).

²¹ On January 1st 1399, Solomon “Agnagne”, “menor de días” (junior) and his wife, Astruga Gualit, (Zecrí's daughter) and Jacob Gotina, Jews from Saragossa, borrowed 36 florins, 4 *sueudos* (Aragonese coins) and 4 *díneros jaqueses* (local coins) from Nicolás Sarrel, a resident from Saragossa. AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1399, fols. 24v–25.

Solomon Anagni²² or Gualit,²³ called “menor de días” (junior)²⁴ until around 1400, when his namesake²⁵ Solomon Anagni, (and very possibly an uncle of his) the *perpuntero* and Master of the King’s tents and also main protagonist of this paper died. The result of the marriage between Astruga, the daughter of the above mentioned Zecrí and (his uncle?) Solomon Gualit “el menor” (junior), was Ishaq Gualit.²⁶

Zecrí Anagni’s profession was that of *perpuntero*. The oldest document in which this specialized skill in padding heavy fabrics and other related tasks (*perpuntería*) is mentioned dates from 1395: it consists of a delivery note given by the Jew when he received 20 *sueldos jaqueses* (local coins) from Juan López Sarnés, the executor of the will of Martín López Sarnés, “por fazer los atques de un panyo d’oro que el dito defuncto lexo a la eglefia de Santa Engracia”.²⁷ On August 6th of that year, Zecrí received 30 *sueldos jaqueses* for a piece of work which entailed “atocar, orlar et forrar un panyo d’oro” which the late Martín López Sarnés had ordered when he was alive for the church of Saint John the Old.²⁸ A year later (1396), the executors of the late Domingo Cormano paid him 40 *sueldos* of the same currency “por su treballo de atocar dos panyos d’oro”.²⁹ Then in 1397 Zecrí received from the executors of the will of Doña Sancha Pérez 100 *sueldos*, also *jaqueses*, for “atocar, forrar et fazer las sennyales a armas de Calbiello et de Sese en tres pannynos”, according to the deceased woman’s instructions.³⁰

As has already been stated, at the end of the fourteenth century, another person called Solomon Anagni alias Gualit, “el menor”

²² AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1393.II.19 and XII.28 and Juan López de Barbastro, 1400, fols. 48–48v.

²³ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1394.XI.18 and Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1396, fols. 244v–245. His wife is also named either “Astruga Gualit” (AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1393.II.19 and 1393.XII.28) or “Astruga Anagne alias Gualit” (AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1397, fol. 54).

²⁴ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1395.VII.28, and Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1397, fol. 48v.

²⁵ AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1399, fols. 24v–25 and 637.

²⁶ On April 11th 1412, Juan Serrano is paid the sum which Solomon Anagni alias Gualit, his wife Astruga Anagni alias Gualit and their son Ishaq Gualit owed him. AHPZ, Antón Ximénez del Bosch, 1412, fols. 50–50v.

²⁷ AHPZ, Pedro de Carlos, 1395, fol. 93.

²⁸ AHPZ, Pedro de Carlos, 1395, fol. 103v.

²⁹ AHPZ, Juan de Capilla, 1396, fol. 7v.

³⁰ AHPZ, Ramón Amat, 1397, fols. 147v–148.

(junior)³¹ lived in Saragossa. He married Astruga, Zecrí's daughter.³² This is documented since 1386,³³ he was a tailor³⁴ and he dealt preferably with Christian suppliers.³⁵

Towards the end of the fourteenth century two other people indistinctly named "Anagni" and/or "Gualit" lived in Saragossa: Mossé Gualit, documented between 1388 and 1397,³⁶ and Ishaq Gualit. The latter, participated in the plenary assemblies of the community between 1391 and 1397.³⁷ Nothing is known about them except that both they and David Rogat, a Jew of that city, shared some shops located in the parish of Saint Lawrence, *treuderas* (tenants in perpetuity) to this church.³⁸

In the Service of the Royal Household in Barcelona

So far, the earliest information I have gathered in relation to Solomon Anagni dates from August 16th 1353: it concerns a royal debit note in which a debt for 200 *sueudos* (local coins) is recorded.³⁹ A short time later (28th of that month), Solomon was appointed deputy *merino* (judge with jurisdiction over a limited territory) of the Jews in Saragossa,⁴⁰ a post which from then on and except for a brief interval of time, he would combine with the job of *perpuntero*, Master curtain-maker and Master of the King of Aragon's tents ("perpun-

³¹ AHPZ, Pascual Alegre, 1393, fol. 52v; Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1394.XI.18, fol. 126 and Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1396, fols. 244v bis–245.

³² AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1393.II.19.

³³ See respectively, AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1386.VII.12 and Juan López de Barbastro, 1400, fols. 48–48v and 205v–206.

³⁴ AHPZ, Juan López de Barbastro, 1400, fols. 48–48v.

³⁵ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1393.XII.28 and 1394.XI.18; Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1396, fols. 244v–245, 1397, fol. 54 and 1399, fols. 24v–25.

³⁶ AHPZ, Domingo de Ejulve, 1388.IV.3; Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1391, fol. 62v, 1394, fol. 32v bis, 1395.III.1 and 1397, fol. 165. See also AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1397, fols. 114–114v and 301–301v.

³⁷ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1393, fols. 223v–224, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1394, fols. 529 and 547–8 and Jimeno de Alberuela, 1397, fol. 8v.

³⁸ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1397, fols. 139–139v, 1398, fol. 192v and 1399, fol. 85.

³⁹ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 870, fol. 31.

⁴⁰ ACA, reg. 958, fol. 191v.

terio et magistro tentoreriorum",⁴¹ "farsater" del rey⁴² and "magistro signorum").⁴³

"Perpuntero", Master of Tents and Something Else

Solomon Anagni's profession (and also that of his brother, Ishaq) was a specialized skill known as *perpuntería*. The *perpuntero*,⁴⁴ apart from working with heavy materials, also lined, adorned⁴⁵ and trimmed the precious cloths which the king, noblemen and other affluent people offered up to the Church in order to ingratiate themselves with God: they were beautifully edged materials, which usually bore the donor's coat of arms in the centre.⁴⁶

The information gathered from the Notary Archive of Saragossa reveals that apart from the Anagnis, there were other Jews from Saragossa who dedicated themselves to these types of activities, among them Jentó Albalá, Jucé Gallur and Exabí Rahuén. Nonetheless, Solomon stood out from all the rest, including his brother Ishaq: he must have been an expert in the tailoring of thick materials and canvas, which undoubtedly required specialized skills. For this reason he was put in charge of maintaining the king's tents, which in the case of Pedro the Ceremonious was a great responsibility, as when the Monarch went on journeys he preferred to use his own tent to sleep in rather than stay at inns of little standing.

Owing to his professionalism and presumably his good taste and willingness, he was also entrusted with the task of decorating some rooms in the royal palace which involved designing and making

⁴¹ ACA, reg. 958, fol. 191v.

⁴² In Catalan, a 'perpuntero' is called 'farsater'. See ACA, Real Patrimonio, 828, fol. 261v and 953, fol. 174v.

⁴³ Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, n° 255, p. 360.

⁴⁴ 'Perpunte' or 'pespunte' means a strong doublet, padded with cotton and back-stitched in order to conserve and protect the body from sharp instruments or weapons similar to a paned doublet. See *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana or Diccionario de Autoridades*, (Madrid 1737; facs ed. Madrid 1976) vol. V, p. 230.

⁴⁵ The word used in the documentary source is 'atocar' or 'atoquar'. For example, see AHPZ, Juan López de Barbastro, 1395, fol. 63v. According to José Borao, *Diccionario de voces aragonesas, precedido de una introducción filológica histórica*, (Saragossa 1859) the word 'atoque' is a synonym of 'adorno' or 'aliño' (decoration or dressing).

⁴⁶ AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1394, fol. 638.

curtains, pillowcases, bedspreads, seats of honour and other similar objects, which contributed to creating a pleasant and comfortable ambience in the rooms of the king and queen and the infants. This meant he was conferred with the title of Master of the King's curtains in the royal palace, equivalent to a present day "interior designer". Moreover, on June 25th 1356, he received 2,523 *sueudos* and 7 *barceloneses dineros* (local coins) to pay for the materials used in the decoration of the rooms of Pedro IV's daughter (Infanta Doña Juana) and of his niece (Infanta Isabel). He also received money for the wages of the experts entrusted with making the items.⁴⁷ From these facts it may be deduced that Solomon was no mere craftsman, quite the contrary, he was provided with a workshop in which several masters worked, among them his brother Ishaq, who in 1356 was paid 77 *sueudos* and 6 *barceloneses dineros* (local coins) by the *maestro racional* (Finance minister of the region) at a rate of 15 *dineros* and one obol per day for "affer senyeres e adobar algunes tendes del dit senyor Rey".⁴⁸ It is no wonder that in May of the same year Queen Leonor listened to his pleas and personally interceded for him before the King of France in order to petition the release of Jucé Abraham de Lunel, a brother-in-law of Solomon's, who had been arrested in Saintes (France).⁴⁹ It is quite feasible to think that this Jucé was from Lunel, an intellectual and Talmudic centre close to Montpellier and dependent on Narbonne,⁵⁰ famous for its School of Medicine.⁵¹ I have not managed to find out whether the relationship between Solomon and Jucé de Lunell was due to the fact that the latter had married an Anagni or whether he was the brother of Lumbre, Solomon's wife.

Solomon and Ishaq lived in the court at least from 1353⁵² and regularly offered their services there according to what can be gath-

⁴⁷ ACA, Real Patrimonio, Maestro Racional, 859, fols. 96v-97 (1356.VI.25).

⁴⁸ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 880, fol. 106 (1356.X.17).

⁴⁹ ACA, reg. 1566, fol. 57v (1356.V.5), published in Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ A. Graboïs, "Les écoles de Narbonne au XIII^e siècle", in *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, (Toulouse 1977) p. 142, and G. Dahan, "La survie des auteurs juifs du Languedoc a travers les impressions de leurs oeuvres jusqu'au XVII^e siècle", in *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, p. 210.

⁵¹ G. Nahon, "Condition fiscale et économique des Juifs", in *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, p. 72.

⁵² ACA, Real Patrimonio, 870, fol. 31 (1353.VIII.16).

ered from the various debit notes issued by the *maestre racional* (Finance minister). That year the funds assigned to Solomon for three month's work amounted to 86 *suelos* and 6 *díneros barceloneses*.⁵³

Deputy "Merino" in the Jewish Quarter

In order to repay the services Solomon had rendered to the Crown as *perpuntero* and Master of the King's tents, he was appointed deputy *merino* of the *kahal* in Saragossa by Pedro the Ceremonious on August 28th 1353.⁵⁴ Regarding the letter of appointment, there are some aspects I would like to consider:

- it concerns a temporary grace ("dum de nostre processerit bene placito voluntatis", registered in the series "Gratiarum").
- there is continuous reiteration of the possibility that the post may be carried out by substitutes, as is the custom, perhaps because what really mattered in this case was the payment of income which went with the post.
- strangely enough, in the above mentioned appointment the inherent functions of the post are not specified, as had traditionally being the norm. Perhaps this was due to the fact that nobody had envisioned that Solomon would carry out this charge.

In contrast, in the concessions which Jaime II, the Infante Alfonso and Pedro IV, respectively, conceded to Vidal (or Haim) Pico (in 1325) and Mossé Abenarama (in 1326 and 1337) for the same post, the functions of deputy *merino* in the *kahal* are clearly stipulated. These functions involved supervising the accurateness of weights and measures in the quarter and ensuring that payment of fines incurred by Jews for fraudulently measuring or weighing their merchandise reverted to the Royal Treasury.⁵⁵ Other functions consisted of establishing the

⁵³ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 335, fols. 93v–94.

⁵⁴ ACA, reg. 958, fol. 191v.

⁵⁵ "Concedimus . . . tibi Vitali Pico judeo civitatis Cesarauguste quod sis locum tenens merini in judaria civitatis predictae, necnon etiam sis custos intus judariam ipsam falsorum pesorum sive etiam mesurarium et exigas seu recipias penam seu penas statutas a judeis qui tenuerunt sive tenent falsa pondera vel mensuras . . . concedimus tibi quod habeas et recipias salarium quod pro tenentem locum merini in ipsa judaria est recipi consuetum". A copy of the letter is included in ACA reg. 885, fols. 34–34v (1325.XII.12) and reg. 957, fols. 90–90v (1347.XII.31).

necessary measures for the execution of legal proceedings and ensuring that royal orders and judicial sentences were carried out. This meant that the person responsible had to be present at hearings held in the Jewish quarter and control whatever occurred there.⁵⁶

Consequently, the deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter was usually a Jew who, at least in theory, had to collaborate with the *merino* of the city in order to resolve any matters which arose in the area and affected the Royal Treasury. He also had to stand in for the *merino* when he was away. He was well thought of by the Sovereign, who decided on his appointment and his testimony could be crucial in order to ensure that Jews paid the penalties and *calonias* (fines) which were owed to the king. The fact that he was a Jew and lived in the Jewish quarter meant that he was supposed to know what was happening there. Therefore, in order that he would carry out his responsibilities with great care and be totally committed to the task of keeping watch on whatever occurred in the *bet-din* (Jewish Court), the salary assigned to him consisted of the money proceeding from *calonias* (fines) inferior to five *sueldos* incurred by his correlative and the *carcelaje del castillo*, i.e., a supplement for the custody of Jewish prisoners.⁵⁷ Regarding the fines, at the beginning of fourteenth century he was granted 33% of the total amount.⁵⁸ As time passed, this amount increased considerably: therefore, whereas in 1336 Mossé Abenarama pocketed half of all the *calonias* (fines), inferior to five *sueldos* imposed on the *kahal*,⁵⁹ half way through that century, Solomon Anagni was paid the total sum of these pecuniary sanctions, providing they did not exceed 5 *sueldos*.⁶⁰ His loyalty to the Crown, as

⁵⁶ ACA, reg. 232, fol. 20v. In M. de Bofarull y Sartorio, *El registro del merino de Zaragoza, el caballero don Gil Tarín. 1291–1312*, (Zaragoza 1889) p. XXX.

⁵⁷ ACA, reg. 695, fol. 138v. I have not managed to discover how much the *carcelaje* (custody payment) owed by the *kahal* in Saragossa came to, but I do know that in the same year (1364) the Jews in Daroca paid 4 *dineros jaqueses* (local coins) for custody rights for each Jew imprisoned. ACA, reg. 1203, fol. 180 (1364.VIII.20).

⁵⁸ Abraham Fedanch, the man who held the post of deputy *merino* to Miguel Royo, pocketed a third of the total amount of *calonias* (fines) inferior to 5 *sueldos jaqueses*. This implied quite a substantial source of income, as that year the amount collected rose to 1,047 *sueldos* and 4 *dineros* and a *miaja* (old copper coin). C. Orcastegui and E. Sarasa, "El libro-registro de Miguel Royo, merino de Zaragoza en 1301: una fuente para el estudio de la sociedad y economía zaragozanas a comienzos del siglo XIV", *Aragón en la Edad Media* 4, (1981) pp. 137–138.

⁵⁹ Copy of a letter dated 1336.VIII.22, confirmed on October 18th 1347, in ACA, reg. 885, fol. 34v.

⁶⁰ ACA, reg. 958, fol. 191v.

well as his own personal ambition, depended on how efficient he was in carrying out his duties. That explains why the monarch only conferred the post to those he could trust,⁶¹ and those whom he wished to compensate in some way.

Apparently, the post of deputy *merino* with this denomination and these characteristics, only existed in Saragossa, or at least I know of no other place in the kingdom or in the Crown of Aragon with such a post, as it is different from that of *albedin* (Market Inspector). The first documented appointment dates from 1311, although—as I have already stated—it was common practice before then.⁶² Presumably, this position which proceeded from the Crown was created in order to help the *merino* and ensure that the Royal Treasury received the payments due to it for “*tacanas et por estaulimentos et colonias*”.⁶³ Therefore, it is no wonder that after conferring the post of deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter to Solomon Anagni, Pedro the Ceremonious hastened to send a letter to Juan Ximénez de Osca, *merino* of the city, informing him of his decision.⁶⁴

At first, Solomon himself did not carry out the duties of deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter in Saragossa. He lived in the court and was too involved in the *perpuntería* business, not only as an employee of the Royal Household,⁶⁵ but also in private. In 1354 the Royal Treasury paid him 116 *sueldos* and 4 *dineros barceloneses* (local coins) in order to cover costs relating to food, accommodation and footwear.⁶⁶ Although most of his time was spent at court, he tried to combine his tasks there with his own private business. Consequently, between

⁶¹ Before Solomon, the post was held by Mossé Abenarama, who in November 1326 had received it from the Infante Alfonso (ACA, reg. 504, fol. 35) and this was confirmed by King Pedro on August 22nd 1336 (ACA, reg. 859, fol. 216); Vidal Pico, and the Gadella brothers (ACA, reg. 1055, fol. 5, 1338.IX.1) and Mossé Abenarama (ACA, reg. 1056, fols. 82–82v, 1340.III.27), who shared the post between 1338 and 1340. Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, p. 318.

⁶² On February 3, 1311 Jaime II, at the request of Queen Constanza, granted Jehudá Mascarán permission to carry out the *merino's* duties in the *kahal* of Saragossa while he was absent from his post, “*sicut alii judei tenuerunt locum merini predicti in ipsa judaria*”. ACA, reg. 232, fol. 20v. In Bofarull, *El registro del merino*, p. XXX.

⁶³ In Bofarull, *El registro del merino*, p. 6.

⁶⁴ ACA, reg. 958, fol. 191v (1353.VIII.28).

⁶⁵ There is evidence of this in the delivery notes of the Finance minister's scribe in the Real Patrimonio, 335, fol. 93v (1353).

⁶⁶ “*Per provisio de son meniar et per hostalatge e çabates*”. ACA, Real Patrimonio, 781, fol. 16v.

November 1356 and July 31st 1357, the payment made to him by the *maestre racional* (Finance Minister) was for 5 months instead of 9, since he had only spent 4 months and 18 days at court (“continuament es stat en la corte”). He had dedicated the remaining 4 months and 12 days to his own private affairs (“a stat menys de la cort en ses affers”).⁶⁷

Exemption from Tax Payment

In gratitude for his services rendered to the Crown, on June 3rd 1356, Queen Leonor conceded to Solomon Anagni, member of her household, exemption from paying the taxes demanded by the *kahal*. However, this exemption had been provided for by Pedro the Ceremonious some years previously, the King himself went on to confirm this on July 14th that same year, allowing it to include Ishaq, his brother and their next of kin, i.e., their wives and children.⁶⁸ This exemption remained valid for a time as the King confirmed⁶⁹ it on several occasions until it was finally annulled in 1370.⁷⁰

The Return to Saragossa

For reasons which are unknown to me, although with the Sovereign's approval, Solomon and Ishaq decided to return to Saragossa in 1356. In order to protect them from possible problems their return home might cause, Pedro IV wrote to Pedro Jordán d'Urries, *baile general* (general bailiff) of the Kingdom of Aragon, Juan Ximénez de Osca, *merino* of Saragossa, all his officials and the *kahal* in that city on September 8th 1356, asking them to receive the Anagni brothers

⁶⁷ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 831, fol. 88v. See also 864, fol. 57v.

⁶⁸ “Volumus Salamonem Anagni et Isachum Anagni, fratres, judeos Cesarauguste, qui circa opera nostra et illustris Alionore regine Aragonum consortis nostre carissime non cessant, inttendere seu vaccare laborem continuum non recusando, nec eorum uxores et filios in peinserto mandato intelligi seu modo aliquo comprehendi, quinimo ab omnibus contributionibus et exaccionibus aljame predicte ipsos et utrumque ipsorum cum uxoribus et filiis eorundem volumus eximi et extrahi secundum tenorem privilegii eis indulti”. ACA, reg. 687, fols. 90–91 (1356.VII.14).

⁶⁹ In 1360.III.20 (Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, p. 302).

⁷⁰ See Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, pp. 302–303.

with due reverence and offer them a warm welcome and receive them as if they were still at court, as they were still the *perpunteros* and Masters of the tents of the Royal Household.⁷¹

The Monarch's and Solomon's precautionary measures were undoubtedly justified, not only owing to the Anagni's privileged status (they were exempt from paying taxes), but also because of the fact that since August 1353, Solomon was the deputy *merino* of the Jews in that city: an important post which enabled the holder to pocket a rather considerable amount of money and control administration of justice which the Jewish courts of law enforced. It is possible that Solomon, who had been appointed deputy *merino* in 1353 had, up to that time, only limited himself to receiving the payments included in the post, completely ignoring all other responsibilities, as his many duties at court and the distance from Saragossa prevented him from seeing to these matters personally. However, once settled in that city, he possibly tried to remedy this. This was by no means easy, since Solomon's efforts to conserve the privileged status which his stay at court had provided him with soon aroused envies among his correligionists. This was due to the clearly defined hierarchies in the heart of the *kahal* in Saragossa (mid fourteenth century) and other powerful groups (mainly the Alazar family) who were unwilling to give way nor allow a newcomer, from a considerably lower social rank to theirs, control the way in which they behaved.

Once in Saragossa, Solomon and his brother Ishaq settled in the closed off Jewish quarter, in Perera alley, near the Roman walls,⁷² in apparently quite large houses, which were beside those of Mossé Pacarin in 1378.⁷³ In 1393 they bordered on those of Jucé Almalí, (junior) and on those of the guild of "Cefarim or Atoras" and then passed on to the Almalí family.⁷⁴ In 1398, Solomon's houses faced those which Ishaq ben Solomon Almachuquí had let to Don Samuel ben Ishaq Quimhí and his wife Oro.⁷⁵ Just like his neighbours,

⁷¹ ACA, reg. 688, fol. 65. Regarding Ishaq, see ACA, reg. 880, fol. 106.

⁷² A. Blasco Martínez, *La judería de Zaragoza en el siglo XIV*, (Zaragoza 1988) p. 79.

⁷³ AHPZ, Juan Ximénez de Aisa, 1378, fols. 71v–73, published by M. Serrano y Sanz, "Inventarios aragoneses de los siglos XIV y XV", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 4, (1917) p. 215.

⁷⁴ Blasco, *La judería*, pp. 82–83.

⁷⁵ When Solomon Anagni died (around 1398), they were passed on to Abraham Galur, who owned them in 1400. See Millás, "Documentos hebraicos", p. 679.

Solomon used to attend prayer at the synagogue of Don Bienvenist, a synagogue of which he was “parishioner”, like Vidal Avenaçora, Ishaq Golluf, the Almalí family (Jucé, Solomon, Barón and Jehudá), Rabbi Jacob Avenardut, Exabí Rahuén, Jahudá Mohep, Solomon Aburrabe, Jucé Fedanch, Ishaq Luengo, Azmel Avenbruco and Menahem Francés.⁷⁶

From the capital of Aragon, the Anagni brothers went on working for the court. Between 1356–57 Solomon received 130 *sueldos barceloneses* (local coins) for his clothing,⁷⁷ an amount which rose to 150 *sueldos* in 1359.⁷⁸ By then he had pocketed different amounts for food, accommodation and footwear, and the costs of the animal he needed for his displacements,⁷⁹ since he usually accompanied the king when he went on campaigns.⁸⁰ Apart from this payment,⁸¹ Solomon and his brother, received other emoluments from the Royal Treasury.⁸² In 1360 he received 250 *sueldos jaqueses* (local coins) to cover the costs of his mount for five months, at a rate of 18 *dineros barceloneses* (local coins) per day,⁸³ a payment which remained in vigour until the end of the war with Castile.⁸⁴ Furthermore, in that year they both received 60 *sueldos barceloneses* from the Minister of Finance’s scribe for decorating the King’s tents.⁸⁵

Solomon appears documented frequently in the account books of the Financial scribe, as an intermediary in the purchase of jewels for the Royal Household⁸⁶ and supplier of the materials required for *perpuntería*, which included basic items needed to decorate the King’s tents⁸⁷ to the silk needed for a bedspread. An example of this can

⁷⁶ AHPZ, Sancho de Jaca, 1361.VIII. 11. s.f. in Blasco, *La judería*, p. 153.

⁷⁷ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 853, fols. 22 and 49v.

⁷⁸ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 853, fol. 96.

⁷⁹ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 828, fol. 261v.

⁸⁰ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 349, fols. 76v, 78 and 169.

⁸¹ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 781, fol. 16v (1356); 470 fol. 45v (1356); 864, fols. 22, 24, 57 and 77 (1356–1360); 853, fols. 22, 41, 49 and 96 (1356–1362); and 890, fol. 178 (1358–1359).

⁸² ACA, Real Patrimonio, 953, fol. 174v and 204.

⁸³ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 829, fols. 29v–30 (1360).

⁸⁴ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 831, fol. 3v (1366) and 88v (1367).

⁸⁵ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 341, fol. 93 and 871, fol. 65v.

⁸⁶ On January 2nd 1357, Solomon was owed 960 *sueldos jaqueses* for a broach covered in pearls with fine stones and three rings; one with an emerald and two with sapphires. ACA, Real Patrimonio, 859, fol. 28.

⁸⁷ “En acorrimient del drap de les tendes quel senyor rey li mando adobar”. ACA, Real Patrimonio, 953, fol. 174v. See also *ibid.* 341, fol. 93v.

be seen in 1356 when Solomon received an order to make a linen bedspread covered with “drap d’or y de Cachasamit” for Queen Leonor’s bedroom. On that occasion, he was provided with the cloths, but he had to contribute the 5 ounces and 3 quarters of white silk needed for its confection. These materials, along with the corresponding salary, provided him with 120 *sueudos*, 3 *dineros* and one *obol* (currency of Barcelona).⁸⁸ During that time Queen Leonor referred to him as “perpunterii et magistri signorum [. . .] de familia illustris domini Regis”.⁸⁹ This gives an idea of how much he was also appreciated as a professional by the Queen.

The Post of Deputy “Merino”: a Source of Conflict

Problems arose when Solomon wanted to carry out *de facto* the job of deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter, a post to which he had been appointed *de iure*. This was a job which usually caused wariness and suspicion among the members of the *kahal* and the *merino* of the city, who did not like it that the economic and judicial powers which went with his post were restricted by this Jew. Although Solomon was his subordinate, he was beyond his control, because Solomon could (and most surely did!) report to the King, with whom he was in direct contact as an employee of the Royal Household. Therefore, it is no wonder that shortly after the Anagni’s return to Saragossa conflict broke out. Indeed, on June 1st 1359, the King reprimanded Sancho de Martos, a shield bearer and *merino* in Saragossa, for not allowing his *perpuntero* to freely carry out the post of deputy *merino* in the Jewish quarter. Seemingly, Solomon had complained to the King about the fact that Sancho had prevented him from receiving custody payment from the castle in the Jewish quarter and the *calonias* (fines) inferior to five *sueudos* (local coins) which the Jews in this *kahal* had incurred. These payments, as has already been stated, were meant to go to him.⁹⁰ A short time later, Samuel Trigo from Saragossa

⁸⁸ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 470, fol. 45v. Published by J.M. Madurell y Marimón in *Anales del Museo de Barcelona* 7, (1949) p. 209.

⁸⁹ See Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, n° 255.

⁹⁰ The King came out in defence of Solomon and blamed the *merino*: “prohibetis ipsum percipere carcelagium castri judarie prefate ut penas quinque solidorum et infra in quas incidunt judei ipsius judarie, quod et quas perceperunt et habuerunt

was sentenced to pay 200 *sueldos jaqueses* (local coins) to the Royal Treasury, for having dared to judge and condemn Solomon Gallit, a Jew from Saragossa, thus scorning the King's jurisdiction. The fight had only just begun!⁹¹

In 1360 Solomon Anagni, Master of the King's tents, received several amounts of money which were owed to him for different services.⁹² As "perpuntero y maestro de tiendas o de enseñas" of the Royal Household he was owed 250 *sueldos*.⁹³ On April 17th of that year, Solomon received 90 *sueldos* and 8 *dineros jaqueses* for various consignments from Arnau Torrellas of the Royal Chamber: 26 *sueldos* and 8 *dineros jaqueses* for 80 *codos* (medieval measurement) of ribbon which he had made for the canopy of his highness the King, at a rate of 4 *dineros* per *codo*; 2 *sueldos jaqueses* for the cotton used in adorning the bedspread; 2 *sueldos* and 6 *dineros* for two and a half dozen rings required for the canopy, and 60 *sueldos* of the same coinage to pay the salaries of four Jewish master craftsmen (at a rate of 19 *dineros* per day) who during ten days had contributed to finishing the King's bed.⁹⁴

From December 10th 1362, Domingo López Sarnés held jurisdiction over Saragossa.⁹⁵ A short while later (August 27th 1364), Pedro IV ordered him to take the corresponding measures so that Solomon Anagni, Master of tents and *perpuntero* of his household, could carry out the duties of deputy *merino* without obstacles in the Jewish quarter and collect the *carcelaje* (custody payment) and the minor *colonias* (fines) of the Jews, as both payments corresponded to this post.⁹⁶ On December 27th of that year (1364), the King came out in defence of his *perpuntero* again and ordered that the lawsuits which had been brought against him be superseded.⁹⁷

Two years later (in 1366), Solomon was still deputy *merino* of the area, but the difficulties he encountered in carrying out his responsibilities and in collecting the payments which corresponded to the

predecessores dicti Salamonis qui ipsum tenuerunt officium usquequaque". ACA, reg. 695, fol. 138v.

⁹¹ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 341, fols. 1v-2.

⁹² ACA, Real Patrimonio, 343, fol. 175 and reg. 349, fol. 76v, 78, 169, 176.

⁹³ ACA, Real Patrimonio, 343, fol. 176.

⁹⁴ AHPZ, Juan de Capilla 1360, fols. 139v-140.

⁹⁵ ACA, reg. 967, fol. 56v.

⁹⁶ ACA, reg. 1202, fol. 15v (1364.VIII.27).

⁹⁷ ACA, reg. 1209, fol. 9.

post continued. The King realised this and in a letter dated July 15th of that year written to the Supreme Judge of Aragon, Domingo Cerdán, in which he informed him that “aliqui dictum Salamonem in possessione ipsius officii pertubare nituntur”. The sovereign tried to solve the matter on this occasion with the intervention of the Supreme Judge, to whom he entrusted the task of observer so that Solomon could carry out his duties without any kind of pressure: “vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus dictum judeum in possessione dicti officii manu tenuatis et defendatis iuxta carta comissionis predictae seriem pleniorum, cavendo ne per aliquem in eodem quomodolibet agravetur”.⁹⁸ On October 20th of that year, Don Pedro, at the request of Solomon Anagni, ordered that his *perpuntero* be provided with a copy of the appointment to deputy *merino* which he himself had granted on August 28th. Seemingly, Solomon, who still held the post, had lost the original copy.⁹⁹ It is possible that someone had deliberately mislaid it, since the atmosphere in the Jewish quarter was becoming less and less suitable for a mere Master of the King’s tents to carry out the functions of a deputy *merino*.

In order to carry out his task, Solomon had to confront his cor-religionists, who tried to administer justice behind his back so as to escape his control. However, he also had to battle with his nearest ranking superior, the *merino* Domingo López Sarnés, who not only did everything he could to prevent his deputy from receiving the income which was due to him, but also incited his officials (scribes, ministers of justice, brokers and prison wardens) and the Jews in the *kahal* to disobey orders and even rebel.¹⁰⁰ At first, Solomon resisted the adversities, as he was still a servant of the Royal Household¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ ACA, reg. 971, fol. 127v (1366.VII.15).

⁹⁹ ACA, reg. 971, fols. 133v–134. The information is also inserted in a copy of the letter in 1388.VII.15. (ACA, reg. 1918, fol. 152v).

¹⁰⁰ According to what Solomon denounced before the King, Domingo had stopped him from “recipere carcelagium castri dicte judarie necnon penas quinque solidorum et inde citra in quas judei predicti incidunt, et nichilominus scriptoribus et sagionibus dicte judarie et judeis eiusdem prohibitis et vetatis ne eiusdem locumtenentis merini mandata solita faciant aut exequantur nec eidem obediant aliaque officio predicto incumbencia facere seu etiam exercere”. ACA, reg. 730, fol. 16 (1367.I.5).

¹⁰¹ In 1367 he made two cloths at the request of Infante Martín, which shows he still received payment from the Royal Treasury, which amounted to 130 *sueldos jaqueses* that year. ACA, Real Patrimonio, 831, fols. 3, 4 and 88 and 853, fol. 49v.

and counted on the protection of his Lord. This occurred, for example, when he was involved in a lawsuit against R. de Juyan: the King sided with him and not only informed the judge (Pedro Garcés de Januas) of his interest in solving this matter, but also granted his *perpuntero* a letter of safe conduct dated the day before in order to prevent any possible harm against Solomon or his properties.¹⁰²

All these incidents show that Solomon had become a troublesome figure for most of his Jewish contemporaries and unpleasant one for some Christian authorities. Seeing that they were unable to vent their anger on him personally, his enemies aimed their attacks at his wife, Lumbre, whom they prosecuted for adultery. In 1368 she was brought before a Jewish court and sentenced to harsh penalties: physical torture, confiscation of property, exile and loss of her dowry.¹⁰³ The many irregularities committed during the trial led the accused to present a plea before the Christian authorities which produced the desired effect, since the trial was reopened and the judges who had sentenced her were heavily sanctioned. The most severe sanction being that pronounced against Mayr Alazar, the judge most to blame. He was ordered to pay the accused compensation amounting to 300 gold florins.¹⁰⁴

These occurrences caused widespread repercussions in the Jewish quarter of Saragossa where, according to custom, the Community was subsidiary and jointly responsible together with the judges for the economic sanctions they would incur after they issued their verdict, provided that the sentence pronounced had been reached by consensus and had the support of the *adelantados* (executive governors).¹⁰⁵ In the end, the King had to intervene and put a stop to this tricky situation, and he entrusted the solution to the *merino* of Saragossa and the Supreme Judge of Aragon.¹⁰⁶

In previous papers, I have highlighted the many anomalies registered during Lumbre's trial. Owing to a lack of conclusive proof, I then hinted at the possibility that it consisted of a settling of scores

¹⁰² ACA, reg. 733, fols. 151–151v (1367.X.1 and IX.29 respectively).

¹⁰³ Blasco, "Avance de estudio", pp. 105–110.

¹⁰⁴ Blasco, "El adulterio", pp. 105–106.

¹⁰⁵ The Keeper of the castle in Amposta presented a plea in favour of Mayr Alazar, his vassal, seeking protection in this customary ruling. The information is inserted in ACA reg. 743, fols. 126v–127 (1369.I.1369) and 173v–174 (1369.II.16).

¹⁰⁶ ACA, reg. 743, fols. 173v–174 (1369.II.16).

between a very powerful sector of Jewish society and Solomon, led by Mayr Alazar and tolerated, and even brought about by Domingo López Sarnés, at that time *merino* of the city.¹⁰⁷ The discovery of new documents from the Royal Chancellery relating to Lumbre's trial¹⁰⁸ corroborate this hypothesis. However, I still do not know what stance the adulteress's husband adopted concerning this incident. From a financial viewpoint, it is obvious that Solomon gained, as he divorced Lumbre without returning even a *dinero* (coin) of her dowry.¹⁰⁹

Solomon's First Dismissal as Deputy "Merino" (1369–1371)

The incidents referred to lasted until the beginning of 1369. On December 17th of that year, Solomon Anagni was removed from the post of deputy *merino* by the infante. The Infante Juan was implicated in this dismissal as he had accepted the accusations made against Solomon by the *merino* Domingo López Sarnés, some important Jews and other people (Jews and Christians) in the city, who accused Solomon of leading a dissolute life, misconduct and infringement ("improvide et inique") of the post of deputy *merino*, which proved highly detrimental to Jewish and Christian law and the post itself.¹¹⁰

The person who most benefited from the whole matter was Jucé Abenarama, a Jew in that city,¹¹¹ who had accomplished his dream of substituting Solomon in the post which two members of his family had previously held.¹¹² A short time later (September 5th 1369), Solomon and his brother Ishaq were included in the list of courtesans whose exemption from paying taxes had been withdrawn by

¹⁰⁷ Blasco, "El adulterio", pp. 102–103.

¹⁰⁸ ACA, reg. 1677 (1368.XI.1) and 1619, fols. 30 (1368.XII.20) and 110v (1369.IV.18). See also, ACA, Real Patrimonio, 580, fol. 32 (1368.X).

¹⁰⁹ Blasco, "El adulterio", pp. 106 and 115–117.

¹¹⁰ ACA, reg. 1678, fol. 60. The Infante's letter was not issued in the way it appears registered in volume n° 1678 of the series "Gratiarum" of the ACA, but rather in the way it is included in the series "Officialia", whose composition is similar to that of the former, except for some subtle differences. ACA, reg. 972, fols. 161–161v.

¹¹¹ Several documents are conserved in which his dismissal appears: ACA, reg. 972, fols. 161–161v and 1693, fols. 57–57v.

¹¹² Precisely in 1325 Mossé Abenarama (ACA, reg. 504, fol. 35 and reg. 859, fol. 216) and in 1347 Ishaq Abenarama (ACA, reg. 957, fols. 90–90v).

order of Infante Juan.¹¹³ In order to prevent those affected from seeking protection in their royal privileges, the Monarch issued an order on November 14th 1370 in which they were forced to submit the documents required by the *adelantados* (executive governors) in a period of three days, if they did not wish to incur a fine of 200 gold florins and a sentence of minor excommunication (“*alatma et nidui*”).¹¹⁴ Solomon’s luck had undoubtedly experienced an about-turn. In January 1370, charges were brought against him for not having guaranteed his houses, as had been agreed, in a loan for 160 *sueudos jaqueses* which, together with Abraham Toledano, he had requested and received from Miguel de la Almunia.¹¹⁵

The dismissal of Solomon and the appointment of Jucé Abenarama, the son of Gadella, to replace him in the post were approved by the monarch in a letter issued in Tortosa on February 26th in the year 1371.¹¹⁶ However, Jucé’s continuance in the post turned out to be short-lived. The disagreements which arose between him and several members of the Jaba family (Rabbi Solomon Jaba, his son Jehudá and another Jehudá Jaba, son of the Rabbi Ishaq Jaba)¹¹⁷ did not take long to precipitate his downfall. Jucé was even accused of being an informer¹¹⁸ and the Monarch could do little for him, although apparently he tried.¹¹⁹

The Return of Solomon as Deputy “Merino” (1371–1379)

On October 20th 1371, Pedro the Ceremonious reinstated Solomon “*perpunterium et magistrum tentoreriorum*” in the post of deputy of the *merino* in the Jewish quarter of Saragossa, with all the assignments, emoluments and functions corresponding to the post.¹²⁰

¹¹³ Among those affected by this measure, also appear Jucé Arama, the son of Gadella, Jentó Aziz, Abraham Fierro, Jucé Arrueti, Astruch Avón and his son Mossé, Haym Avencanyas and the lion keeper Ishaq Tabo. ACA, reg. 1678, fols. 107–112.

¹¹⁴ ACA, reg. 751, fols. 154v–156 (1370.XI.15).

¹¹⁵ ACA, reg. 1620, fol. 89 (1370.I.10).

¹¹⁶ ACA, reg. 972, fols. 161–161v. In this way the new *merino*, Blasco de Azlor, was informed by the King in May 1371. ACA, reg. 972, fols. 163–163v.

¹¹⁷ ACA, reg. 759, fol. 58 (1371.VII.30) and 751, fol. 28 (1370.VII.31).

¹¹⁸ ACA, reg. 744, fol. 0 (1370.VII.31).

¹¹⁹ ACA, reg. 972, fol. 171v (1371.V.25).

¹²⁰ Information in ACA, reg. 1918, fols. 152v–153.

Solomon could still enjoy the benefits of his title as the King's *perpuntero*, although in 1372 other Jews, Ishaq Bonafós, "magistrum cortinarum" and his son Bonafós Ishaq from Barcelona, joined the Royal Household.¹²¹ By then, he was being called by his nickname "Gualit",¹²² according to what is stated in the chancellery register of 1374 which mentions the lawsuit that took place some years previously between "Salomon Gualit et Lumbre su muller" and Mayr Alazar.¹²³

The first years of his second period as deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter, were relatively calm, perhaps because Mayr Alazar, his main rival, passed away in 1374.¹²⁴ Nonetheless, the conflictual situations, a consequence of the responsibility of the post,¹²⁵ did not take long to recur, and they happened with even more intensity than before. In February 1379, Solomon received a letter of safe conduct for a year.¹²⁶ However, a short time later (in March 1379) King Pedro IV had heard of Solomon's complaints against his correligionists because—he said—they had prevented him from collecting the payment of fines incurred by his neighbours ("las penas et calornias que in dicta judaria comitentur seu perpetrantur"), since they usually held their trials in secret and sought protection by holding them at night. This was a situation which the King, as an interested party, unreservedly condemned in a letter dated March 1st 1379 and addressed to the *adelantados* (executive governors) and other Jews in Saragossa.¹²⁷

In order to enforce his orders effectively and put an end to a lawsuit which appeared to be endless, Pedro IV also wrote to the members of the *bet-din* (Jewish court) of the *kahal* in Saragossa at the

¹²¹ ACA, reg. 923, fol. 106. Baer *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, includes the information, p. 413.

¹²² As a proper noun of the Jews, Gualit appears registered in Saragossa at the end of the thirteenth century on two occasions in the Belforat family [J. Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon. Regesta and documents 1213–1327*, (ed. and annotated) Yom Tov Assis, (Jerusalem 1978) n° 1234 and 1284]. As a name given to the people of a particular region or country, it appears at the beginning of the fourteenth century in David, son of Mossé Gualit, who was *adelantado* (executive governor) of the *kahal* in Sos. (Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, p. 199.)

¹²³ Blasco, "El adulterio", pp. 106 and 119–120.

¹²⁴ AHPZ, Rodrigo Alfonso, 1374, fols. 339v–340.

¹²⁵ In 1376 he had to intervene in the lawsuit which arose when brothers Ishaq and Jentó Amato from Saragossa, injured Mayr Trigo, from the same city, in the arm. ACA, reg. 2629, a Book belonging to the *merino* Blasco de Azlor, fol. 56.

¹²⁶ ACA, reg. 1684, fols. 179–179v (1379.II.1).

¹²⁷ A copy of the letter is included in ACA, reg. 1918, fols. 152v–153.

request of Solomon, to remind them that, according to custom, the deputy *merino* had to be present at the trials held by them in the Jewish quarter. He was also to receive his share of the *colonias* or minor fines levied on the delinquents. In his missive of March 11th of that year, the King reproached the Jewish judges for the way in which they behaved by tending to eliminate Solomon's presence through unworthy and reprehensible means, which ranged from preventing him from attending the trials and/or throwing him out, to hastily leaving the building where they held their trials when they noticed his presence. Sometimes they rushed to lift the curtain behind which they hid to administer the law, and pretended to be busy doing other duties. As all this was in detriment of his royal prerogatives, the Monarch ordered the judges of the *kahal* in Saragossa not only to allow the deputy *merino* to attend those trials which impinged on his treasury, but also to formally summon him, on pains of incurring a fine of 100 gold *maravedis* (Spanish medieval coins).¹²⁸

Solomon's Second Dismissal (1379–1388)

Everything leads one to think that the situation had become unbearable. On August 6th 1379, the King addressed a letter to his loyal servant Gil de Sada, the *merino* in Saragossa, in order to inform him of his decision to dismiss Solomon Anagni from the post of deputy *merino*, as he did not meet the requirements needed to carry out the post ("quia non est sufficiens ad ipsum officium regendum a locumtenencia sibi commissa, removendum duximus cum presenti"). Consequently, he ordered him to desist from the tasks attached to the post and to look for a suitable substitute ("dicimus et mandamus . . . alium in locumtenentem vestrum de quo vobis videatur idoneum tamen et sufficientem ponatis et constituatis").¹²⁹ On April 18th 1380, the King vested the functions of *merino* of Saragossa and commissioner of the Jews in the figure of Gil de Sada, two posts which had up to now been separate and were now "in unum reducimus et tornamus".¹³⁰ A few days later, Peter the Ceremonious entrusted Don Gil with the

¹²⁸ ACA, reg. 804, fol. 94v. Copy of letter in reg. 1918, fol. 153v.

¹²⁹ ACA, reg. 975, fol. 61v.

¹³⁰ ACA, reg. 975, fols. 95v–96 (1380.IV.18).

resolution of the criminal and civil lawsuits which had arisen between his *perpuntero* and a group of Christians and Saracens, regarding matters related to judges and commissioners.¹³¹

The pressures coming from the *kahal* on the King must have been very intense and Don Pedro must have been very fed up to adopt such a measure, since his professional relationship with Solomon still remained firm and friendly: in November 1381, the Master of the King's tents received 545 *sueudos* and 8 *dineros* from the financial secretary for 38 *codos* (medieval measurement) of white and red cloth from Perpignan which he had bought in the shop of Juan Don Sancho in order to make 12 royal blankets and a blanket with the coat of arms for the harnesses of the horses belonging to the King.¹³²

In 1385 Solomon intervened as a witness for the silversmith Jehudá Almalí in a notarial document drafted in Saragossa,¹³³ in which the atmosphere of extreme tension prior to the change in the throne was especially felt, as something in the air indicated that King Pedro's days were numbered. The conflicts registered in the city with the rise to the throne of Juan I undoubtedly had something to do with the sudden dismissal (January 20th 1387) of the *merino* and commissioner Gil de Sada and the appointment of Lope Sánchez de Ahuero as *merino* and commissioner of the Jews in Saragossa.¹³⁴ Following these changes, on July 15th 1388, the new King reinstated Solomon Anagni in the post of deputy *merino* of the Jews in Saragossa, in spite of his age, and confirmed his former appointments made in 1353 and 1366.¹³⁵ Just as his father before him had done, that very day, Don Juan informed the *adelantados* (executive governors) and other members of the *kahal* of his decision and urged them to respect Solomon as deputy *merino* and allow him to carry out the duties that go with the post, "tam in iurisdiccione quam in carcellagio castri judarie".¹³⁶ He was also to receive payment of the *colonias* (fines) inferior to 5 *sueudos* and an economic supplement, known as *carcelaje* (custody payment) for the custody of prisoners. This recommendation was also applicable to the judges of the *kahal*, who, once again, were

¹³¹ ACA, reg. 810, fols. 121v–122 (1380.IV.27).

¹³² ACA, Real Patrimonio, 375, fol. 147.

¹³³ AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1385, fols. 40v–41 (1385.II.14).

¹³⁴ ACA, reg. 1918, fol. 5 and 47v–49v and 155v.

¹³⁵ ACA, reg. 1918, fol. 152v.

¹³⁶ ACA, reg. 1918, fols. 152v–153 (1388.VII.15).

reminded of what they had been ordered to do by his late father some years previously (March 11th 1379).¹³⁷ At the end of his life, the wheel of fortune had again turned favourably for the royal *perpuntero*.

Towards his Downfall

From 1385 onwards, Solomon Anagni alias Gualit was occasionally called “el mayor”¹³⁸ (senior), very possibly so as to avoid confusing him with (his nephew?) Solomon Anagni alias Gualit, “el menor” (junior). The latter was a tailor and had married Astruga de Gualit (a daughter of Zecrí Anagni, alias Gualit, *perpuntero*).¹³⁹

However, once again, and despite the measures taken by the King, a short time later Solomon’s situation in the *kahal* had become rather delicate. This is the only possible explanation for why on May 10th 1389, Don Juan reaffirmed all the orders which he had conceded to his *perpuntero* and Master of curtains in July 1388.¹⁴⁰ In 1391 Solomon still held the post of deputy *merino* of the Jews in Saragossa. Nevertheless, he must have abandoned it a short time later, owing to the disagreements which had arisen with the community.¹⁴¹

The notarial records do not provide any information regarding Solomon’s professional activities during the period covering 1368 and 1391, a fact which should not surprise us if we consider that during those years he was normally to be found in the King’s service and that he was in charge of the maintenance of the tents used on his campaigns. However, in the Notarial Archive of Saragossa, there is record of the specialized decorative tasks (*perpuntería*) carried out by him in the latter years of the century, a period in which he took little interest in the post of deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ ACA, reg. 1918, fols. 153v.

¹³⁸ The first time, Solomon bore witness in a notarial document dated February 14th 1385 (AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1385, fols. 40v–41). See also AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1389, fol. 3 and Pedro Aznárez de Ansó, 1389.V.19.

¹³⁹ On February 19th 1393, Solomon Anagni, (junior), and his wife Astruga de Gualit, Jews from Saragossa, received a loan of 75 *súeldos jaqueses* from Pedro Martínez de Camacurta. AHPZ, Domingo Martín de Aguilón, 1393.II.19.

¹⁴⁰ ACA, reg. 1918, fol. 188v.

¹⁴¹ ACA, reg. 1850, fol. 50r.

¹⁴² ACA, reg. 1850, fol. 50r.

Among his client there appears, first of all, the jurors of the city, who in 1394 asked him to make a cloth of gold which should carry not only the King's coat of arms, but also that of the city, in order to commemorate the anniversary of Don Pedro, who had recently died.¹⁴³ Furthermore, two years later (in June 1396), the same people paid him for a similar order ("atocar et fer las senyales en dos panyos"), to mark King Don Juan's death.¹⁴⁴ Then some noblemen and affluent people also required his services, among whom it is worth highlighting the executors of the wills of Don Pedro Lanaja,¹⁴⁵ Doña Catalina del Son,¹⁴⁶ Doña María Ximénez de Rada (the wife of Don Juan Ximénez de Valconchán)¹⁴⁷ and Doña María Gil de Frago.¹⁴⁸

I have not been able to discover whether Solomon resigned or was dismissed from the post of deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter. At the beginning of May 1397, Pardo Lacasta's deputy in the Jewish quarter of Saragossa was Solomon (Çulema) Abenpesat, the son of Ezmel.¹⁴⁹ However, Solomon was still employed as *perpuntero*: consequently, in April 1398, he appeared before the notary Juan Blasco de Azuara to grant a delivery note in favour of Francisco Palomar,

¹⁴³ They paid him 40 *sueudos jaqueses* for this. AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1394, fol. 287 (1394.V.9).

¹⁴⁴ The sum amounted to 70 *sueudos jaqueses*. AHPZ, Juan Doto, 1396, fols. 128v–129 (1396.VI.21).

¹⁴⁵ On October 16th 1394, Solomon Gualit received 25 *sueudos jaqueses* from the executors of the will of the citizen Pedro Lanaja, for "atocar et meter las senyales de las armas del dito don Pero Lanaja en el pannyo que en su fin mando pora su sepultura seyer comprado et apres aquello seyer dado a los prior et canonges de Sancta María la Mayor". AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1394, fol. 638.

¹⁴⁶ On January 14th 1395, Solomon Anagni, a Jew from Saragossa, received from Arnalt Noguer, executor of the will of Catalina del Son, 60 *sueudos jaqueses* "por rason de atocar dos pannyos de oro et fer sennyales in aquellos ad armas de la dita defuncta". AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1395, fol. 45v.

¹⁴⁷ On July 23rd 1395, Solomon Anagni, a Jew from Saragossa, *perpuntero*, received 60 *sueudos jaqueses* from the executors of the will of Doña María Ximénez de Rada "por forrar et atocar dos pannyos d'oro et fazer las sennyales en aquellos" for her burial. AHPZ, Juan López de Barbastro, 1395, fol. 63v.

¹⁴⁸ On February 28th 1398, Solomon Anagni, a Jew from Saragossa, received 100 *sueudos jaqueses* from the executor of the will of María Gil de Frago, for making a cloth of gold for her burial. AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1398, fol. 159v.

¹⁴⁹ On May 4th 1397, Çulema Abenpesat, a Jew from Saragossa, in his own name and Pardo Lacasta as deputy *merino* and commissioner of the *kahal* in Saragossa appointed Sancho Fernández de Lihori, Miguel Pérez de Navasa, Miguel de Campos, Domingo de Betes and Solomon Abenardut, all from Saragossa, general attorneys. AHPZ, Jimeno de Alberuela, 1397, fol. 63.

mayordomo (administrative secretary).¹⁵⁰ He was called “el mayor” (senior) to distinguish him from another, younger person with the same name (his nephew?).

His death must have taken place after the month of August 1398¹⁵¹ and before November 10th 1400, as in a document in Hebrew with this date, which is conserved in Archive of the Pilar, Abraham Gallur’s houses are mentioned and it says that they had previously belonged to Solomon Anagni.¹⁵² I am inclined to think that his death took place during 1399, since in a notarial act dated October 6th of that year, a reference to Solomon Anagni alias Gualit (the husband of Astruga Anagni) is included in which it is not specified—as the previous documents had stated¹⁵³—whether he was “menor de días” (junior).¹⁵⁴

Conclusions

The long life of Solomon Anagni was full of ups and downs. In spite of not belonging to the upper spheres of Jewish society (he belonged to the lower-middle class), he achieved quite a considerable amount of power in his post of deputy *merino* of the Jewish quarter: a post which enabled him to control the administration of justice to the detriment of the judges of the *kahal*, who from the very beginning felt threatened and tried to avoid his vigilance and control.

Solomon was a figure who attracted conflict. He did not win over his correligionists since the unrivalled position he held (the post itself, exemption from taxes, prestige, power) had been achieved not because of his family lineage nor because of his merits in the heart of the *kahal*, but for his relationship with the Royal Household. He was not particularly liked by his Christian superiors, who deep down did not trust the help that this Jewish deputy, appointed by the Crown, could offer them.

¹⁵⁰ AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1398, fol. 315v.

¹⁵¹ This is inferred from some information which Millás published regarding his houses. See “Documentos hebraicos”, p. 679 and Blasco, *La judería*, p. 84.

¹⁵² Millás, “Documentos hebraicos”, p. 683.

¹⁵³ The last time he appears registered as “menor de días” (junior) is on January 7th 1399. AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1399, fols. 24v–25.

¹⁵⁴ AHPZ, Juan Blasco de Azuara, 1399, fols. 24v–25 and 637.

The strategies deployed by his enemies in order to get rid of him were many and varied: I have always thought and now I am more than convinced, if such a thing is possible, that the sentence of adultery levied on his wife Lumbre was planned by some of his most sworn rivals. This is especially so when we consider Mayr Alazar, the leader of a group, unable to accept that someone like Solomon, with his lineage and characteristics should dare to compare himself to the judges of the *kahal* and claim honours which in no way belonged to him, and to add insult to injury, he was in a post which proceeded from a royal concession. And all this during a period of time when the Jews in Saragossa were going to great pains to rid themselves of the king's intervention in adjudication of posts in the *kahal*. Of course, Solomon fulfilled all the requirements needed in order to be considered a public enemy of the community, or at least, its leaders. Hence, the Alazars and others like them tried to undermine his power by provoking him. It is quite possible that on seeing how the methods used against the deputy *merino* failed, they took it out on his wife, who was accused of adultery with the intention of slandering Solomon's reputation. They achieved their aim, because in 1370, Solomon was removed from office. Nonetheless, this was for a short time only, as once the situation had been resolved and responsibility apportioned, the King reinstated Solomon.

From then on the clashes between Solomon and his rivals intensified. He was once again dismissed and reinstated, as a result of hard bargaining which took place among some of the leaders of the *kahal* who called for his dismissal, and the King. For the latter, Solomon was a useful person to have in the Jewish quarter and someone whom he could fully trust. He not only kept him up to date with what went on inside the *kahal* and guaranteed the recognition of certain royal prerogatives, but he also served as a touchstone for provoking certain disagreements in the heart of the *kahal* which, in the short or long term, were beneficial for the Royal Treasury, following the well known maxim of "divide and you will conquer".

The support of Pedro the Ceremonious in the first place, and of Juan I afterwards enabled Solomon Anagni to remain in the post of deputy *merino* of the Jews for some thirty years: a long time in which Solomon, with the backing of the Crown, achieved some victories over his rivals and was able to maintain a judicial, economic and social position which, according to the leaders of the *kahal* in Saragossa, did not befit him.

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AN INQUISITORIAL PROCESS AGAINST THE JUDAISING JUAN DEL ESCUELA (1491–1492)

Carlos Carrete Parrondo

It should be remembered that there were groups of Judaizers in the Kingdom of Castile and León (as in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula) who, even though many years had elapsed since their ancestors had practised the Jewish faith, maintained certain socio-religious customs that led them to face numerous problems with the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The documentation that is presented here, hitherto unpublished, might be considered to provide a model, although by no means the only possible one, of the religious and social situation in which the distant descendants of these Castilian Jews found themselves. Generally speaking, historical studies have not made detailed use of such evidence because, superficially at least, it does not seem to contribute much to our knowledge. In my opinion, however, it reflects a widespread pattern of behaviour that should not be forgotten, precisely because of the peculiarities that are illustrated and the information that it can provide.

In the first place, the inquisitorial process will be summarized and subsequently an attempt will be made to extract some conclusions from it. On 19th January 1492, Juan del Escuela, inhabitant of Cuenca, was accused by the prosecutor for the Inquisition in that city of the following charges:¹

He much respected and devoutly followed of the Law of Moses, holding it to be and calling it holy, appealing to it in his prayers and needs, saying: 'By the Holy Law that God, Our Father, gave unto Moses on Mount Sinai'.²

"And because of this love and enthusiasm for that law and so as to fulfil it better, he held the day of Yom Kippur to be holy, proclaiming and teaching people when it was, and telling and teaching them when

¹ The documentation is preserved in the Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca (henceforth ADC), Inquisición, leg. 3, no. 55.

² "Era muy aficionado y devoto de la ley de Moysén, teniéndola e llamándola santa, yimando por ella en sus priegas y neçesydades, disiendo: 'Para la Ley santa que Dios, Nuestro Señor, dió a Moysén en el monte Sinay'".

they were to fast (. . .), saying unto them that it was a holy day and good to fast on it and to mislead them further in that false error, he said that the Church had a festivity on that day, and for this reason and because of his false doctrines some people fasted on it, saying unto them that whosoever did not fast on it was lost and would go to hell. And thus it was glorified, celebrated and fasted upon, and unto those who did not fast like him, he would say: 'Be silent, you fools, for hell is full of such as you'.³

"He used to read the Bible in the vernacular,⁴ in which these errors and others that he perpetrated and heretically spread are believed, and he apostatized in other matters".⁵

Six days later, on 25th January, the accused confessed that occasionally, "while playing 'tablas'⁶ and cards with *conversos*, and making fun of them, he used to say and swear to God⁷ and by the Holy Law that God gave Moses, but that he did not follow this law and neither did he believe it or respect it".⁸ And he added that some twelve or thirteen years before: "he had a vernacular Bible, which he often read in his house, and that many people read it and heard [others] read from it, both Old and New Christians, and that from it he learned many things about the Jews and their festivities and fasts, and that sometimes, when Yom Kippur was coming, he would ask them if they fasted on it, and sometimes they used to ask him if he fasted on it, and he answered that he did, as a joke, and in order to make them reveal and discover whether they fasted [. . .], because it was well-known that many of them in the *Correría*⁹ fasted on that day of the main fast, but that he never did so".¹⁰

³ "Y con aqueste amor y afición y por conplir mejor aquella ley tenía por santo el Día Mayor de los judíos, domatizando y enseñando a la gente cuándo era, y deziéndoles y enseñándoles cuándo lo avían de ayunar [. . .], disiéndoles que era día santo y bueno ayunarle y por los mejor engañar en aquel falso error desía que la Iglesia fasía fiesta en aquel día, y a esta causa y por su falsa dotrina lo ayunauan algunas personas, diziéndoles que el que no le ayunava que era perdido y se yva al ynfierno. Y por esto se glorificava, festivava e ayunava, y a los que non ayunavan como él dezíaes: ¡Callad, neçios, que de los tales se hinchén los ynfiernos!".

⁴ Prohibited until the Council of Trent, 1545–1563.

⁵ "Leya mucho en la Brivia romançada, donde se cree los dichos errores y otros que perpetró y heretico eso mesmo, y apostató en otras cosas".

⁶ According to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 19th edition, (Madrid 1970) this is a 'game like draughts, in which the players' skill is combined with chance, by means of throwing dice'.

⁷ Note the 'singular' form in the original text, characteristic among Sephardi Jews.

⁸ "Jugando a las tablas e nappes con algunos conversos, burlando con ellos, desía e jurava a Dio e para la Ley santa que Dios dió a Moysén, pero que non la tenía nin la creya, ni era aficionado a ella".

⁹ The main street in Cuenca, with a large *converso* population according to the trials of the Inquisition preserved in the ADC.

¹⁰ "Quél ouo una Brivia en romançe, en la qual leya muchas vezes en su casa,

This is what is stated in the accused's confession, a text not without certain ambiguities. His defence, presented on 27th January, makes further reference to it.

On 4th February, the prosecutor for the Inquisition presented the evidence of the eight witnesses who had denounced the accused: Martín Alfonso de Medina testified that "he heard Juan del Escuela, barber, say [...] that it was good to fast on Yom Kippur, and that he who did not fast would go to hell, and that he would prove this by means of an epistle;¹¹ and similarly several times he saw [...] Juan del Escuela read in a Bible in the vernacular".¹²

Alfonso de Alarcón, son of the potter Francisco Fernández,¹³ who was by this date dead, denounced that the accused told his father: "Francisco, potter, tomorrow is Yom Kippur and the Church celebrates this festivity and I fast on this day".¹⁴ Such a confused text is indicative of the very limited knowledge that his hearers had of the Catholic religion, a widespread state of affairs among *conversos* in this period. If the opposite had been the case, the sources might have been expected to indicate some other attitude on the part of at least some of those who heard these words.

In her reconciliation, the previous witnesses's mother, Juana Martínez, stated that her husband, "once, on going to Fita,¹⁵ to Juan del Escuela's house [...], he found him reading a Bible in the vernacular and he heard him say of the Main Fast that it was good to fast on this day and that the Church celebrated a festivity on that

e le leyan e oyan leer muchas personas, asy christianos viejos como nuevos, e que por ella él supo muchas cosas de los judíos de sus fiestas e ayunos y que algunas veses, quando venía el Día Mayor y le[s] preguntaua si lo ayunauan, e algunas veses ellos le preguntauan a él si lo ayunaua él, e les respondía que sí, burlando dellos, e porsacar e saber dellos si lo ayunauan [...], porque avía fama que en la Correría ayunauan el dicho ayuno mayor muchos dellos, pero quél nunca lo ayunó".

¹¹ Possibly a vernacular Bible.

¹² "Oyó desir a Juan del Escuela, baruero [...] que hera bueno ayunar el Día Mayor, e el que non lo ayunava que yva a los infiernos, e quél los prouaría por vna epístola; e que asy mismo vido algunas veses a [...] Juan del Escuela leer en vna Biblia en romançe".

¹³ His trial, which was adjourned in 1493, can be found at ADC, Inquis., leg. 12, no. 246.

¹⁴ "Francisco, cantarero, mañana es el Día Mayor e la Iglesia fase fiesta dél e yo lo ayuno".

¹⁵ Hita in the province of Guadalajara, which had a Jewish and a *converso* community. See F. Cantera Burgos and C. Carrete Parrondo, "La judería de Hita", *Sefarad* 32:2, (1972) pp. 249–305.

day,¹⁶ and that Juan del Escuela still fasted, and that [...] her husband fasted on it”.¹⁷

In her reconciliation dated 9th April, 1489, another witness, Constanza Núñez, Alvaro de Molina's wife, pointed out that she saw the accused “read a vernacular Bible, and similarly she heard him swear ‘by the Law [...] that Our Lord gave unto Moses on Mount Sinai’, and that she had heard that he fasted on Yom Kippur, but that she did not know this for certain”.¹⁸

In her reconciliation of 10th April, 1489, Juana Fernández¹⁹ stated that while her father was still alive, she had heard him say that “Juan del Escuela the barber had made him fast on the day of the [Main] Fast”.²⁰

In his reconciliation of 21st April, 1489, Juan de Medina, a silversmith, maintained that when he had gone to the accused's house on one day of the Main Fast, some five years previously “and it might have been about the hour of complines,”²¹ Juan del Escuela told him [...] that he could not shave him because he was fasting that day, and the witness said unto him: ‘Have you no shame?’ And [...] Juan del Escuela replied: ‘Be silent, you fool, for that is how hell becomes full of you and others like you!’”.²²

Juan de Hita testified that in about 1483, while the accused was in Hita “reading a small book”²³ in the presence of Constanza Núñez,

¹⁶ I.e. Yom Kippur.

¹⁷ “yendo vna vez a Fita, a casa de Juan del Escuela [...] le fallara leyendo en vna Biblia en romance e le oyera desir del Ayuno Mayor que hera bueno de lo ayunar e que la Yglesia fasía fiesta en aquel día, e que avn [...] Juan del Escuela lo ayunaua, e que [...] su marido lo ayunó”.

¹⁸ “Leer en vna Biblia romance, e asimismo le oyera jurar ‘por la Ley [...] que Nuestro Señor dió a Moysén en el monte Sinay’, y que avía oydo desir que ayunaua el Día Mayor, pero que no lo sabe de cierto”.

¹⁹ Sister of the witness Alfonso de Alarcón, and therefore daughter of Francisco Fernández the potter.

²⁰ “Le avía inpuesto en ayunar el dicho Ayuno [Mayor] Juan del Escuela baruero”.

²¹ The last canonical hour, when night has fallen, and prayers come to an end.

²² “Que podía ser ora de completas, le dixerá [...] Juan del Escuela que non le podía af[e]litar porque ayunaua aquel día, e que este testigo le dixerá: ‘¿No avéys vergüença?’ E [...] Juan del Escuela le respondiera: ‘¿Calla, neçio, que asy se hinchén los infiermos de ti e de otros tales!’”.

²³ This should be interpreted as a book of spells. See the previous accusation and E. Gutwirth, “Casta, classe i màgia: Bruixes i amulets entre els jueus espanyols del segle XV”, in *Curs La Càbala*, (Barcelona 1989) pp. 85–99 and R. Barkai, “L’ús dels salms en la màgia jueva de l’edat mitjana i el renaixement: El llibre *Shimush tehil-lim*”, in *Curs La Càbala*, pp. 17–57.

wife of Alvaro de Molina,²⁴ this witness saw and heard how [...] Constanza Núñez strongly reproached [...] Juan del Escuela for what he was saying and reading, and that similarly on many occasions this witness saw [...] Juan del Escuela swear by 'the Holy Law of Moses',²⁵ and on other occasions he said: "Oh! If only you knew what day it is today"²⁶ in "summer, about the time when there were grapes".²⁷

More curious is the accusation presented by Teresa Gómez when she states that in about 1488 the accused:

was curing this witness of a malady of the nose that she had, and that [...] Juan del Escuela told her that if this witness wanted to know anything, he had a book by means of which she would discover it by throwing three dice, and they would stop at the page that she wanted and that this witness should there say what she wanted to know. And this witness asked him to show it to her, and that [...] Juan del Escuela took her a book with some circles, and that [...] Juan del Escuela told her that it was not the said book, that he had the other one in his house, but that he never took her the [...] book.²⁸

The statements presented by the lawyer for the defence's eight witnesses do not contain anything of particular interest: Don Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Dean of the Cathedral of Cuenca, testified that the accused took care "that no *converso* should enter the chapter of San Miguel²⁹ and of Santa María de las Candelas".³⁰ The evidence of Juan de Toro, Juan María and Pedro de León, priests of

²⁴ See *supra*.

²⁵ "Leyendo en vn cuaderno en presençia de Costança Núñes, muger de Alvaro de Molina [...], viera e oyera este testigo cómo [...] Costança Núñes le reprochara mucho a [...] Juan del Escuela lo questa disiendo e leyendo, e que asy mismo vió este testigo muchas veses a [...] Juan del Escuela jurar por 'la Ley santa de Moysén.'"

²⁶ I.e. Yom Kippur. "¡O[h], sy supieses qué día es éste"

²⁷ The grape harvest takes place in the month of September. "verano, por tiempo que avía vuas".

²⁸ "Curaua a este testigo de la narís de vn mal que tenía, e que [...] Juan del Escuela le dixera que sy este testigo quisiera saber lo que quiesiese qué tenía vn libro por donde lo sabría, echando tres dados por él, y que pararían en la hoja que ella quería e que dixese allí este testigo lo que quiesiese saber. E queste testigo le rogó que ge amostrase, e que [...] Juan del Escuela le llevara vn libro con vnas ruedas, e que [...] Juan del Escuela le dixera que avn no hera aquél el dicho libro, que en casa tenía el otro, pero que nunca le lleuó el [...] libro".

²⁹ A church in the upper part of the city with Romanesque and Gothic remains.

³⁰ The latter church is no longer in existence; "por que no entrase converso ninguno en el cabildo de Sant Miguele de Santa Maria de las Candelas".

Cuenca Cathedral, was favourable, as was that of Alfonso Martínez de Reza, the incumbent priest of the church of San Miguel, and that of Francisco el Largo. In addition, Pedro Barbero pointed out that both of the accused's marriages were with Old Christians, and the notary Juan Muñoz stated that Juan del Escuela married some of his daughters to Old Christians.

The sentence, dated 28th June, 1492, is relatively light, except for its financial terms. It states: "that he should give and pay for the 'costs' and expenses of this Holy Office sixty thousand maravedis",³¹ and that for one year he should pray the penitential psalms every Friday "before a crucifix, on his knees, and as he cannot fast because of his weakness, he should feed a poor man every Friday for that same time".³²

My aim in presenting this apparently straightforward inquisitorial process—in addition to honouring Elena Lourie, a leading historian and a dear friend—has been to offer an insufficiently known and appreciated aspect of *converso* society in Castile, namely its lack of coherence as a social group, contrary to the theoretical claims still maintained by some historians who are unaware of such fundamental evidence. Moreover, I have also tried to emphasize that the Mosaic customs that many Judaizers practised were often not very orthodox. It should be recalled that the Jewish quarter of Cuenca disappeared in 1391 as a consequence of the violent persecutions that the community suffered: these circumstances might explain why, and this is merely a supposition although a plausible one, no Jews resident in Cuenca gave evidence against the accused. Prior to the general expulsion of 1492, this often occurred in other places where there is evidence for the existence of a Jewish community, as has been demonstrated on several occasions, in spite of claims to the contrary, by a leading Hebrew and Romance scholar at the University of Salamanca, Professor M^a Fuenciscla García Casar.³³

³¹ A substantial amount for that time; "que dé e pague para las costas e gastos deste Santo Ofício [...] sesenta mill mrs."

³² "delante de vn cruçifixo, fincado de rodillas, e porque su flaqueza no puede ayunar, dé aquellos días, cada viernes [...] a comer a vn pobre".

³³ See her research on this question: "Judíos castellanos colaboradores con el Tribunal de la Inquisición del distrito Cuenca-Sigüenza", in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division B, vol. II, (Jerusalem 1990) pp. 175–182, and "Judíos y judaizantes de Ayllón", *El Olivo* 18:39, (1994) pp. 53–61.

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* Each author has followed their own orthography for names of places and rulers. The index generally follows the most common spelling in English, and sometimes has other possible spellings in brackets. The kings of the Crown are referred to in the index by their Aragonese numbers. Terms such as Crown of Aragon, Iberian peninsula, Spain, Jew, Christian and Muslim have not been indexed as they appear on almost every page of this volume in one form or another.

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